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Recollections of Half a Century



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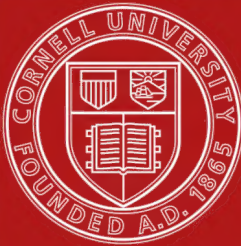
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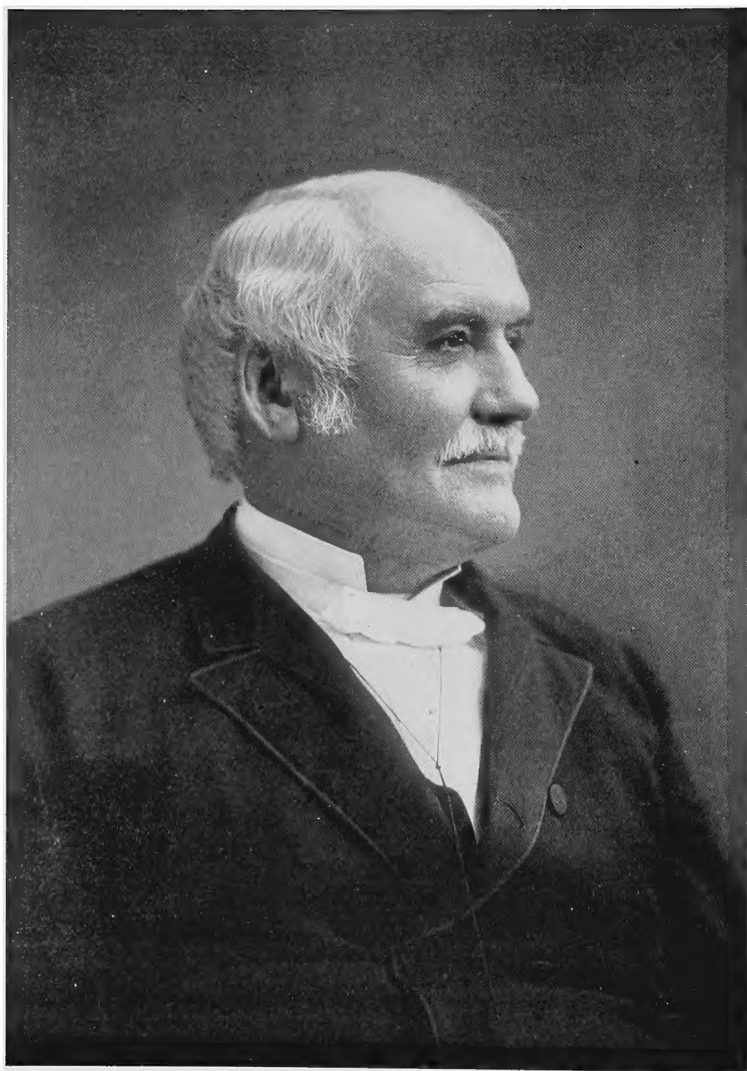
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COLONEL A. K. McCLURE.







COLONEL  
**ALEXANDER K. McCLURE'S**  
RECOLLECTIONS  
OF  
HALF A CENTURY



Author of "Lincoln and Men of War Times," "Our Presidents  
and How We Make Them," "Three Thousand Miles  
Through the Rocky Mountains," "The South,"  
"To The Pacific and Mexico."

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BY ALEXANDER K. MCCLURE

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1902



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## MATCHLESS PROGRESS OF THE REPUBLIC.

The last half century has written the most brilliant records ever given in the same period to the annals of the world's history, in every attribute of civilized advancement. Progress has been unexampled in art, in science, in industry, in commerce, in finance and trade, as well as in achievement in field and forum. The great republic of the new world has vastly outstripped the progress of any other half century, or indeed, of any full century since the world was.

I shall give in these chapters of random recollections important contributions to history, made especially entertaining and instructive by personal knowledge and incident. After more than fifty years of active participation in political and public affairs, and most of the time closely related to the great political movements of all parties in State and nation, with personal acquaintance more or less intimate with the leading chieftains of peace and war, I hope to furnish new and fresh contributions to the history of our great Republic outside of the ordinary lines of historical record.

There never was a period in the history of our country when its achievements inspired a higher and wider measure of pride among all classes and conditions, or when the desire to study the progress of the great republic of the world was so general among the new generation that knows of our great civil war only as history records it, while the few survivors of the sore trials of the flame of battle and of reconstruction cherish everything relating to them as the most grateful memories of their lives. All know that in fraternal conflict the heroism of the Blue and Gray pales Grecian and Roman story, and that the American statesmanship that was confronted in war and reconstruction by the gravest problems in the history of any nation, solved them even in the fiercest tempest of sectional passions, to stand as an enduring monument of the grandeur of the civil powers of the nation that

had won the grandest homage from the world for its achievements in war.

The progress of this republic in the brief span of a single life seems like a romance born of the most latitudinous imagery. When I first saw the light of day there was not a single steamship on any of the seas of the world; there was not a train of cars drawn by a locomotive; the magnetic telegraph was not even noted in the wildest of dreams; there was not a single State west of the Father of Waters with the exception of Missouri and part of Louisiana; the great Northwest, now presenting an unbroken galaxy of mighty and prosperous commonwealths, was then an unexplored wilderness, and a large portion of the Western country now possessing a thriving population and clothed with Statehood, appeared on our school atlas as the Great American Desert. The boundless wealth of the Rocky Mountains was unknown, even to the dusky sons of the forest, who peopled that region from prehistoric times, and the now rich slopes of the Pacific, with its golden gate, had only a straggling semi-barbaric race. Ohio was known as the "backwoods," where the sturdy pioneers were yet struggling with the Indians, and ordinary letter postage between the East and the remote regions of the new Buckeye State was 37½ cents.

There was then great pride among the people that the new republic had grown from a population of three millions to a population of twelve millions. It was regarded as an epoch of matchless progress, as Pennsylvania and New York had each completed great water highways between the seacoast, the lakes and Western rivers, and considering the feeble resources of that age, their achievements in the line of advancement were as heroic as any of the present time. Today we have an unbroken line of sovereign States from the Eastern to the Western sea, from Northern lake to Southern gulf, with great possessions in the West Indies, and holding the gateway of the world in the Orient, and eighty millions of the most intelligent and prosperous people of the world enjoying the priceless blessings of our free institutions.

There is not a political party now known that had existence seventy years ago, although the Democratic party may be reasonably claimed to be the successor of the Republican party founded by Jefferson, that dominated the government until the

advent of Jackson, who was first a candidate for President as a Democratic Republican to distinguish him from the National Republicanism of Adams and Clay. I have witnessed the creation of four political parties which have risen to national prominence, two of which have elected Presidents and three of which have elected Governors of Pennsylvania. The Federal party was utterly overthrown as a national political factor when Jefferson defeated Adams, although it maintained its vitality in New England and other States, and elected Buchanan to Congress and Finley Governor of Pennsylvania in 1820.

The organization of the Anti-Masonic party, founded on the single principle of opposition to secret societies, and inspired to aggressive action by the alleged murder of Morgan, was a welcome refuge for the scattered Federal forces and it became a formidable opposition to the ruling political power of the country. It elected Ritner Governor of Pennsylvania in 1835, and was the first political party of the country to hold a national convention for the nomination of Presidential candidates, in 1831. The party founded on a single idea, and that a perishable one, speedily waned in power, and the great Whig party was organized in 1834, and displayed startling strength in the national contest of 1836 by the support it gave to Harrison. It elected two Presidents—Harrison in 1840, and Taylor in 1848—and suffered two defeats with Clay and Scott as its leaders, the Clay contest standing out in the political history of the nation as one of the greatest political battles of our history.

With the overwhelming defeat of Scott in 1852, the mission of the Whig party was ended, and the general Whig disintegration and the Democratic disaffection because of the repeal of the Missouri Compromise in 1854, gave a most inviting field for the new American party with its secret organization, and it presents the most revolutionary political records in many States and cities which have ever been recorded in our political conflicts. It was an important factor with Fillmore as its candidate for President in 1856, but the Republican party had then made its lodgment, sustained by the most positive and earnest convictions on the slavery issue, and it won the great Lincoln battle in 1860, accepted Civil War, abolished slavery, gave the nation the only sound financial system it has ever known, and has practically ruled the destiny of the republic for more than forty years.

Cleveland was twice President, elected by the Democrats, but with all the vigor of his rule he only halted for a time the mastery of Republicanism. To these may be added the Greenback party that became a national organization in 1868, the Prohibition party that first appeared in national politics in 1872, and the Populist party favoring the free coinage of silver, that absorbed the Greenback followers and polled over one million votes in 1892. There have been several other socialistic parties which presented national candidates at the last Presidential election, but their following was so feeble as to deny them recognition as national political factors.

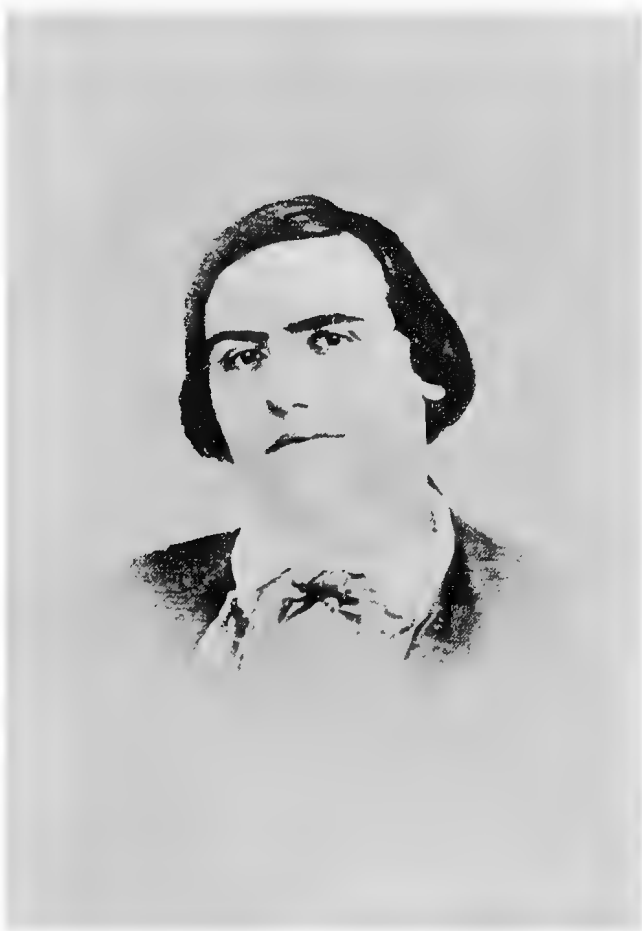
My first distinct recollection of a Presidential battle was the contest between Harrison and Van Buren in 1840, and in no way could the extraordinary advancement of the country be better illustrated than by presenting the political conditions which then existed. I recall it of course, only as an enthusiastic boy sharing the general infection that made the people spontaneously hurrah for "Tippecanoe and Tyler too," and shout the songs which were heard at almost every cross roads. Even in the most primitive communities rude log cabins were constructed as emblematic of the Harrison cause, and hard cider, or cider whether hard or soft, was drunk with the wildest huzzas. The country was sorely depressed, labor was unemployed, money was an almost unknown commodity among the people, and what little there was came from banks, many of which were founded on the wild cat theory, and the Whigs in song and story promised the working men "\$2 a day and roast beef." It was a most inspiring and practical slogan, and all classes and conditions became earnestly enlisted in the struggle. It brought a new type of oratory to the front that was illustrated in its highest line by the celebrated "Buck Eye Blacksmith," who, with horny hands and fluent speech, coarse wit and coarser invective, rallied the masses into the most enthusiastic efforts for their cause. There were many great men at the front on the hustings, as it was only through the platform that the people could then be reached, but it was the one national battle during the period of sixty years in which the people ran away from their leaders and swept the country for Harrison like a hurricane.

In those days the rural community was fortunate that had a weekly mail. Daily newspapers were unknown in the country,









COLONEL McCLURE AT NINETEEN



and the people had to depend solely upon their local newspapers for their news. Considering that we now expect to have sufficient returns from the entire Union to determine a Presidential contest not later than midnight of election day, the facilities for information in 1840 are impressively remembered. On Friday, two weeks and three days after the Presidential election of 1840 in Pennsylvania, a number of neighbors were gathered at my father's at what was then known as a "raising." The custom of those days was for the neighbors to be summoned when any one of them was ready to erect the frame or log work of a building, and spend the day or afternoon in fulfilling the kind neighborly offices which have been almost entirely effaced by the progress of civilization. What a builder would now do in an hour with machinery the neighborly gathering would give a day to the same task, and make it, besides, one of generous hospitality and enjoyment. Friday was the day on which the weekly mail arrived, and the Whigs and Democrats who enjoyed their political spats, as both claimed the State for their respective parties, were anxious to have the weekly paper to decide the attitude of the Keystone State.

I was dispatched to the post office, a mile or more distant, in time to be there when the post boy arrived, with instructions to make special haste in returning. My father was one of the few liberal men of that day who received both the Democratic and Whig local newspapers, so that the anxious company was assured of information from the organs of both parties. When the mail arrived at the post office I seized the Whig paper, and was delighted to find a huge coon over the Pennsylvania returns, and the announcement that the State had gone for Harrison by 1,000 majority. In generous pity I opened the Democratic paper to see how it would accept the sweeping disaster, and to my utter consternation, it had a huge rooster over the Pennsylvania returns, and declared that the State had voted for Van Buren by 1,000 majority. I took the shortest cut across the fields to bring the confusing news to the anxious crowd that was awaiting it, and both papers were spread open and both sides went home rejoicing in the victory. Of course, they all felt that there was a strong element of doubt in the conflicting returns, but the matter was quietly dismissed without complaint for another week, and it was fully two weeks later when the of-

ficial vote was finally received that gave the State to Harrison by 305 majority. Where the weekly mail then was welcomed as a generous blessing from the government, the daily mail and sometimes mails twice and thrice a day reach the people, and the daily newspaper is now more widely read than were the local weeklies of olden times.

The difference in the relations between the people and the public men they worshipped in the present and half a century ago can hardly be fully appreciated in this wonderfully progressive age. Then travel was a luxury that few could enjoy, and was almost wholly confined to those who found it a necessity. It was not only tedious and tiresome, but expensive far beyond the means of the great mass of the people. The great men of that day were idolized by their partisans as we now pay homage to the statue of some great leader as it poses on the pinnacle of the temple with its imperfections obliterated by distance.

I never saw Clay or Webster, although I was six years an editor before their death. A visit to Washington by a village editor was usually beyond the range of his time and means, and of the many who shouted their hosannas to Clay and Webster and Calhoun, only one in many, many thousands ever saw his heroes face to face. Today we span the continent from the Atlantic to the Pacific in five days, and the song of the iron horse sends its echoes through almost every valley and to nearly every hilltop of the land. The electric telegraph has annihilated space, traversing ocean and mountain, and the telephone, now in almost every business house and in many private homes, makes easy converse with friends hundreds of miles distant. The perfection of our great system of transportation has so greatly cheapened travel that all our people as a rule, with their vastly increased resources, take frequent excursions in their business affairs or to witness the progress that is surging around them. Public men like McKinley and Bryan, who have traversed the country in their political contests, would be known and recognized in nearly every village by old and young, even if they entered it unannounced. The people are today face to face with their heroes. They see them as they are; they learn that they worship only men after all, with their full share of human infirmities, and the idolatry that was given to Clay is a lost attribute of the American people.

The one quality of greatness that has been lessened by the transformation of our progressive civilization is that of popular oratory. Half a century or more ago the people could be reached only by the mass meeting, as the newspaper was a luxury confined to the more fortunate few in every rural community. Political necessity then gave birth to a galaxy of popular orators of national fame that has never been equaled in modern times, and is not likely ever to be equaled in the future. The field for oratory is circumscribed by the universal advent of the newspaper, and popular oratory has been largely supplanted by the mastery of forceful disputation. Mere oratory no longer sways the multitude beyond the evanescent inspiration of the moment. Intelligence has become too universal for leadership to make successful battle by rhetorical appeals to prejudice or passion, and therein is the greatest safety to the noblest republic of the world.

## ABRAHAM LINCOLN AND JEFFERSON DAVIS.

Abraham Lincoln and Jefferson Davis are names interwoven with the achievements of the last half of a century which will ever be studied with unflagging interest by the students of American history. Both were natives of Kentucky, and the dates of their birth are not a year apart. Lincoln was born in Hardin county on the 12th of February, 1809, and Davis was born in Christian county (now Todd) on the 3d of June, 1808. Davis was inaugurated as President of the Confederacy on the 16th of February, 1861, and Lincoln was inaugurated as President of the United States a fortnight later on the 4th of March, 1861. Lincoln's assassination ended his public career on the 15th of April, 1865, and the public career of Davis was ended by his capture on the 10th of May, 1865.

These two men were called to the most responsible positions of their respective governments, and both were chosen because of their generally assumed fitness for the grave duties assigned them. Lincoln's nomination for President in 1860 was made by a convention that sincerely and earnestly preferred William H. Seward as the party candidate, but considerations of expediency made his nomination impracticable, and Lincoln was selected because of the masterly ability he had exhibited in the great Douglas-Lincoln battle, and also because of his freedom from political and factional complications. Davis' election to the Presidency of the Southern Confederacy, as he told me himself some ten years after the war, was a serious disappointment. He was on his way from Mississippi to Montgomery, the temporary Confederate capital, when advised of his election. He appreciated the oppressive responsibilities of the civil chieftain of the new government, and his earnest desire was to be assigned as commander-in-chief of the Confederate army.

It would be difficult to find in all the annals of American history two men of such exceptional achievement summoned to

the performance of the gravest duties developed in all the mutations of American progress, who were so distinctly opposite in their ruling attributes. Lincoln came from close to mother earth, and grew up in sincere sympathy with the lowly. When called to the highest civil honors of the world he was never forgetful of the masses of the people. He not only heartily sympathized with them, but he had abiding faith in them. In all of the many great conflicts which arose during the war when new and most vital questions had to be settled, Lincoln ever permitted the surges of disputing factional leaders to play around him unfelt and apparently unnoted until he was fully satisfied of the considerate judgment of the people of the country, and when he felt assured on that one point he was as immovable as the rock of Gibraltar. I once heard him rebuke a Western Congressman who offered some apology for the unreasonable exactions of some of his constituents because of their want of intelligent knowledge of public affairs in Washington. Lincoln replied in a quiet and most impressive manner: "I think God must love common people or he wouldn't have made so many of them."

His battle in life was made entirely without friends or fortuitous circumstances and his advancement was due wholly to his great natural endowments and his tireless self-education. One quality that distinguished him from most of our public men was his careful and exhaustive study of every problem from the most candid and impartial standpoint. He was honest with himself, honest with the world and, above all, honest in the discharge of the fearful duties and responsibilities which had been put upon him. He was the most approachable President the country has ever had. He always favored the audience of the unknown and helpless and many times Cabinet officers were compelled to wait in their attendance upon him while he heard the story of some heartbroken mother whose boy soldier was unfortunate and friendless in the army. While he ever exhibited the candor that forbade willing deceit, he was the most sagacious and at times the most reticent of all the public men I have ever known. I doubt whether any man ever fully enjoyed the confidence of Abraham Lincoln. Those who were closest to him during his life unite in testifying to his reticence, but when it was necessary to confide he did so with perfect frankness, and while he was



accused of many things in the violence of partisan criticism, I cannot recall an instance in which he was accused of deliberate deception.

Mr. Lincoln entered the Presidency without a policy, and therein was his safety. The questions which he had to meet and determine were questions which had been in dispute from the foundation of the government with equal ability and patriotism and nearly equal numbers on either side. The great party leaders, including his Cabinet, with all of whom he had but little personal acquaintance, as a rule had their positively defined plans for meeting the issue of rebellion, but Lincoln had none. He knew that events which could not be safely anticipated must control the action of the government in the effort to preserve the integrity of the Union, and he was probably the only one of the eminent Republican leaders to confess that he had yet to learn the policy to be accepted and maintained by the government.

Another very marked feature of Mr. Lincoln's character was his patient and generous forbearance with all who were unfriendly to him. I never heard Mr. Lincoln utter a single sentence of resentment against anyone, and I have never met any person who claimed to have heard him speak vindictively against even his bitterest foes. The beautiful sentence of his inaugural—"With malice toward none, with charity for all," was a perfect reflex of the heart of Abraham Lincoln. He sincerely respected Jefferson Davis because of his ability and his sincere devotion to the cause of the South, and he never gave expression on any subject relating to Davis that could not have been said to Davis in person without affront. Although he was denounced in the South as a bloody butcher, as an obscene and profane jester, and as a ruler without integrity or statesmanship, he bore it all with patience, and the most I have ever heard him say in answer to these terrible criticisms which wounded him profoundly was that "when these people know us better they will think better of us." I have many times heard him say, speaking of the Southern leaders and people, that if they only knew how sincerely and earnestly the government desired to deal with them in generous justice to all, peace might be attained.

He exhibited his friendly feeling for the South, notwithstanding the terrible desolation and sacrifices of war, when the military power of the Confederacy was on the verge of destruction.

His order to General Weitzel, in Richmond, to give protection to the Virginia State government and Legislature if it assembled to resume relations with the Union; his instructions to General Sherman, given at City Point just before the surrender of Johnston, in which he expressly authorized Governor Vance, of North Carolina, to resume his functions with assurance of recognition of the State government if acting in harmony with the national government, until the meeting of Congress, and the last speech ever delivered by him when serenaded to congratulate him on the surrender of General Lee, proved the entire absence of cherished resentment against the South.

Had Lincoln lived Jefferson Davis would never have been captured. On this point I speak advisedly. He knew the intensely revengeful feeling that pervaded the inflamed sentiment of the North, demanding the arrest and execution of the leaders of the rebellion. He knew that they could not be convicted and executed for treason after having been recognized as a belligerent power and beleaguered our capital for nearly four years, and he was resolutely averse to the punishment of any of the Southern leaders unless guilty of violation of the laws of war. I heard the question discussed in his presence by several prominent men a short time before the surrender of Lee. Among them was General Butler, who was vehement in demanding the execution of traitors. Lincoln heard the discussion in silence, and he finally closed it by a story the moral of which was that if Davis and the leaders of the Confederacy escaped from the country "unknown to us" it would be fortunate for all.

He meant to bring the South back with as little humiliation as possible, and distinctly met the issue of negro suffrage in his speech of April 11, 1865, the last he ever delivered, in which he said, referring to the question: "I would most prefer that it were now conferred on the very intelligent and on those who served our cause as soldiers." In his entire official record as President during four long years of terrible war, he always looked hopefully to the restoration of the Union in one common brotherhood.

Jefferson Davis was of gentler birth and shared none of the desperate struggles of Lincoln in early life to advance himself. His parents moved to Mississippi in his early youth, and he was given unusual educational facilities for young men of that period.

He was a student at Transylvania College, Lexington, Ky., then one of the foremost and most progressive Southern colleges, in 1824, when President Monroe appointed him a cadet to West Point, where he graduated in 1828 and entered the regular army. He had active military service in Indian campaigns for seven years, when he resigned June 30, 1835, and became a cotton planter near Vicksburg. In 1845 he was elected to Congress, but in June, 1846, he resigned to accept a colonelcy of the Mississippi regiment in the Mexican war, where he served with special distinction at the battle of Buena Vista. Soon after his return from the war in 1847 he was appointed to fill a vacancy in the United States Senate, and in 1848 was elected for a full term. In 1850, when the compromise measures were passed by Congress, Mr. Davis opposed them because they gave too little to slavery, while a large majority of the people of the North and many of the South opposed them because they gave too much to slavery. His colleague, Senator Foote, supported the compromise measure and accepted what was called the Union candidacy for Governor of the State and Davis was nominated against him. Both resigned their seats in the Senate, and in a canvass of the State Davis was defeated by a small majority. He was recalled to public life in 1853 by President Pierce, who made Davis his Secretary of War, and on his retirement from the Cabinet in 1857 he again entered the Senate, where he served until the 24th of January, 1861, when he resigned to join his State in the secession movement.

Mr. Davis was a man of forceful intellect, a great student and one of the ablest debaters in the national councils. He had the courage of his convictions and was scrupulously honest alike in public and private life. He believed in the right of secession and maintained it on all suitable occasions. He always disavowed disunion until after the election of Lincoln, when he took position in the front rank of those who advocated the dismemberment of the republic. He was respected by all his associates in public life because of the sincerity that guided him in his expressions and actions. He was grave and dignified to a degree approaching austerity, but was always one of the most courteous of gentlemen, while lacking the genial and magnetic qualities of men like Lincoln and Blaine.

His military education doubtless strengthened his natural in-

clination to reserve and self-reliance. It is worthy of note that West Point has not produced a single great popular leader, and military education must be at least measurably answerable for the failure of all our many great educated soldiers to attain distinction as leaders of the people in our free government where there is every incentive to develop popular masters. We have had a long line of military Presidents since we have had educated soldiers, beginning with Jackson and followed by the elder Harrison, Taylor, Pierce, Grant, Hayes, Garfield, the younger Harrison and McKinley. Of these, only two—Taylor and Grant—were educated soldiers, and neither was any more capable of political manipulation when elected President than the prattling babe. It was probably the chief error of Jefferson Davis that, like Grant, he carried into the administration of civil affairs the dominating qualities of the soldier. The educated soldier is trained to despise what they call popular clamor, and the tendency is to command. Jefferson Davis commanded as President of the Confederacy; Abraham Lincoln obeyed the sovereign power of the nation, and therein is the sharp contrast between their qualities as civil rulers of the republic and of the Confederacy.

Mr. Davis as President of the Southern Confederacy had quite as sore trials as those which beset Mr. Lincoln, and as the exhaustive exactions of war fell upon his people, it was natural that there should be active and aggressive hostility to any policy he might adopt. Whether others could have ruled the Confederacy more wisely than Davis has always been an open question. The two leading histories of the Confederacy, both written by active Southerners, are directly opposite in their teaching as to the qualities and capabilities of President Davis. That by Mr. Alfriend fully and positively justifies Mr. Davis in all the great efforts of his administration, while that of Mr. Pollard holds him up to the world as individually responsible for the failure of the war. The one feature of his administration that stands out most distinctly is the fact that he did not seek to popularize himself by any of the many arts so commonly accepted by public men, and thus lacked the sympathetic popular support in the South that Lincoln commanded in the North. He was accused of favoritism, especially in the selection of his generals, but if he erred in that regard all who knew him will doubtless concede that

with his naturally strong prejudices and preferences he erred in the exercise of an honest judgment. His removal of Johnson from the command of the army in Atlanta that resulted in Hood's disastrous battle and early evacuation of the city, intensified popular prejudice against Davis, and the States of North Carolina and Georgia, under the lead of their Governors, became aggressively hostile to the policy of the Confederacy.

Mr. Davis committed a fatal error when he sent Vice President Stephens with Hunter and Campbell to confer with President Lincoln and Secretary Seward at City Point, where they met February 3, 1865, but his error was the logical result of his strict adherence to the fundamental theory of the Confederacy and his accepted duty as its Executive. He practically instructed the commissioners to consider no proposition for peace that did not involve the perpetuity of the Confederacy, and that made any conference with Lincoln on the subject impossible. Vice President Stephens, as was his duty, frankly expressed the limitation of his powers, and the question of peace between the North and South on the basis fixed by Davis could not be entertained for a moment. I know that President Lincoln would at that time have suggested the payment of \$400,000,000 to the Southern people for their slaves if peace, emancipation and submission to the national authority could thereby have been secured, and had not the instructions of the Southern commissioners forbidden the discussion of peace by Lincoln, the proffer of \$400,000,000 as compensation for emancipation would doubtless have gone to the Southern public, and under the lead of North Carolina and Georgia, already clamoring for peace on almost any terms, the majority of the Confederate States would have demanded submission. Payment for slaves meant much more than the mere pecuniary advantage to the South, great as it was in their desolate and helpless condition. It meant sympathetic reunion and would disarm the fire-eaters of the South who proclaimed against submitting as conquered subjects.

In a conference I had with Mr. Davis, at his home in Mississippi more than a decade after the war, in which he discussed the questions relating to the conflict in the most courteous and unimpassioned manner, I asked him whether he had any information of Lincoln's desire to attain peace by the payment of \$400,000,000 to the South for their slaves. He answered very frankly

that he had no intimation of such a purpose or desire on the part of Mr. Lincoln. I then asked him whether he would have given the same instructions to his commissioners at City Point if he had believed it probable that the proposition of compensated emancipation might be made at the conference. His answer was logical from his own standpoint of absolute duty to the Confederacy. He said he could not of his own motion, have made any proposition that did not involve the perpetuity of the Confederacy. He very concisely presented the difference between the Federal government and the Confederacy. The Federal President could make such propositions because he represented a centralized power with absolute sovereignty in the nation, while the President of the Confederacy represented a nation whose corner stone was the sovereignty of individual States. He felt that he was powerless to make any suggestion for peace that did not maintain the perpetuity of his government unless demanded by the individual and sovereign action of the States. No one of the Confederate States had proposed peace by submission, and he, as the agent and servant of the Southern States, could accept only the duty of maintaining the Confederacy until the States assented to its surrender, or it was overthrown by Federal military power. That he was sincere and consistent in his attitude will hardly be questioned by the dispassionate student of the history of the Confederacy.

Within a few months after the City Point conference the Confederacy was overthrown by the surrender of the armies of Lee and Johnston, and the assassination of Lincoln occurred when Sherman and Johnston were engaged in negotiations for the surrender of Johnston's army. On Sunday, April 2, 1865, Davis, in obedience to notice from General Lee, hurriedly left his capitol with his cabinet and personal staff to face the death struggle of the Confederacy. The disasters suffered in the field and the universal bereavement and desolation felt by the people, with the open hostility of Congress, made his position an utterly hopeless one. He re-established his government at Danville, where, on the 5th of April, he issued his last proclamation, urging the continued prosecution of the war, in which he said: "Relieved from the necessity of guarding particular points, our army will be free to move from point to point to strike the enemy in detail far from his base." He was soon compelled to abandon Danville, and he re-established the Confederate govern-

ment at Greensboro, N. C., where he had opportunity to confer with Generals Johnston and Beauregard, and on the 10th of May he was captured near Irwinsville, Ga., and taken to Fortress Monroe, where he was imprisoned for two years.

The assassination of Lincoln had inflamed the North to a condition verging on frenzy, and President Johnson started out as one of the most violent persecutors of the South. He issued a proclamation offering a large reward for the capture of Davis and others as conspirators in the assassination of Lincoln, and when he had Davis as a prisoner it was a very grave question what could be done with him. It soon became evident to all that he was no more guilty of the murder of Lincoln than was Johnson himself, and yet the President could not have discharged Davis if he had wished to do so, because of the intensity of popular resentment in the North. After keeping Davis in prison at Fortress Monroe for a year he was indicted for treason in the United States Court at Norfolk. James T. Brady, one of the ablest criminal lawyers of the nation, appeared at the first term of the court as counsel for Davis and demanded speedy trial, but the government was unprepared and the case was continued. Another year elapsed with Davis still confined, until it became a necessity to dispose of the distinguished prisoner, and on May 13, 1867, he was discharged on bail of \$100,000. Some time after his discharge a *nol. pros.* was quietly entered by the government, and thus ended the case against Jefferson Davis in which he was charged when arrested with treason and complicity in the murder of Lincoln.

Mr. Davis was in feeble health, and it is not disputed that he was treated with a degree of severity as a prisoner that now grates harshly upon the honest convictions of the people of both sections, but it was not without special compensations to Mr. Davis. By his arrest and imprisonment he was made the apparent victim of the vengeance of the government against the people who had been in rebellion, and the intense and aggressive hostility to Davis that had been exhibited among a large portion of the Southern people was speedily tempered into forgetfulness of his real or imaginary errors and into warmest sympathy for him as the chosen sacrifice. It ended criticism of the Davis administration and brought out in vivid colors all his beneficent achievements for the South, while his errors were entirely effaced in sympathy for the one man who was made to suffer the

indignity of long imprisonment solely because of his devotion to the rebellious Confederacy that had written most lustrous annals of American heroism.

When Lincoln and Davis became Presidents of their respective governments they were practically strangers to each other. Lincoln had served in Congress from March 4, 1847, to March 4, 1849, and Davis after his return from the Mexican war served part of the same term in the Senate, but he never met Lincoln personally. Lincoln had served his term very quietly, his chief effort being his speech in support of General Taylor for the Presidency, delivered in the House during the campaign of 1848, and there was nothing in that effort to attract special attention. At the beginning of the war it was very natural that Mr. Davis greatly underestimated Lincoln's ability and knew little of his admirable personal attributes, but during a protracted conversation with Mr. Davis, in which he often spoke with unusual interest, the discussion of Lincoln brought out his most positive expressions of respect. I shall never forget the earnest and pathetic conclusion of his remarks about Lincoln when he said substantially: "Next to the day of the failure of the Confederacy, the darkest day the South has seen was the day of Lincoln's assassination."

Such was the tribute of Jefferson Davis, the President of the Confederacy, to Abraham Lincoln, the President of the United States, when peace had come to bless a reunited people. Both were called to the most responsible duties ever assigned to statesmen of our free government; both discharged their grave responsibilities with the utmost fidelity to their convictions, and neither has left a record of personal criticism against the other. Lincoln's tragic death just when his great life-work was about to be accomplished made him secure in the list of the world's immortals, and Davis bowed to the arbitrament of the sword and remained a stranger to his country, as he himself expressed it to the writer, because his assumed political aspirations if he accepted citizenship would have been a constant menace to the safety of the South and the unity of the two sections. He lived, as a rule, in severe retirement after his visit to Canada and Europe soon after his release from Fortress Monroe, until he rounded out more than four score years, when, in New Orleans, on the 6th of December, 1889, he passed away to join the great majority beyond.



## CHRISTIANA AND HARPER'S FERRY, THE FIRST BATTLES OF OUR CIVIL WAR.

The hoarse thunders of shotted cannon were not heard in the first battles of our Civil War, nor were great armies in battle line for sanguinary conflict. The first was fought long before McClellan's skirmishes in Western Virginia and the disastrous defeat of Bull Run, which are now pointed to by the student of the history of our war, as well as by most of those in whose memory those fearful days still linger, as the first conflicts of one of the bloodiest wars of history.

Great wars are never produced in sudden passion. There must be a gradual growth of strained hostility to prepare nations or sections to accept the terrible arbitrament of the sword. In like manner the people of the North and of the South were schooled in preparation for the appalling conflict through which they passed from 1861 to 1865. The pretext was given by the South that the election of a Republican President was an assault upon slavery, when, in fact, even with Lincoln as President, the South had absolute protection for the perpetuity of slavery, not only in a friendly Senate and Supreme Court, but in the President himself, who sincerely declared that the Constitution protected slavery, and that he had no desire to attempt the overthrow of that which had the protection of the supreme law of the nation. The cause of our Civil War was not the election of Mr. Lincoln, although that was the incident that precipitated it. It was certain to come sooner or later, and soon at the latest, between two great sections, equal in intelligence, in heroism and pride, and devoted to their opposing political convictions with equal integrity.

It was the passage of what is known as the Compromise Measures of 1850, embracing the fugitive slave law, that profoundly impressed the people of the North with the conviction that slavery would surely be the fountain of fraternal strife or of the disruption of the Union. The fugitive slave law was one

of the series of compromise measures. It provided for the arrest and return of fugitive slaves by the judgment of a mere commissioner appointed under the law, who received double fees if he remanded the alleged slave back to slavery, and his officers were empowered to summon the people of all classes and conditions to aid in the arrest of the fugitive, while any who even permitted the slave to remain on his premises were required to surrender him to the officers of the law or be liable to criminal prosecution for harboring a fugitive slave, and to civil action for damages if the slave escaped.

My recollection of the law is very distinct, as I happened to be a grand juror in the United States Court at Williamsport, Pa., in 1851, when the first case under the fugitive slave law was brought before the court. The defendant was Jameson Harvey, of Luzerne county, with whom the alleged slave had been living, and when the officers appeared to capture the negro they demanded of the defendant that he should produce him, but the negro had hidden himself in the barn, and was armed for his defense. Mr. Harvey said to the officers, "You can take your slave if you want to," but as the officers feared the armed negro, they withdrew and proceeded against him in the United States Court, where I had the pleasure, as a grand juror, of aiding in ignoring the bill presented against him.

The first battle of our Civil War was fought on the 11th of September, 1851, near Christiana, in Lancaster county, Pa., on a farm then owned by Levi Pownell and now in the possession of Marion Griest. It is on the valley road some two miles or more southwest of Christiana, with an old stone house located on an eminence and surrounded by a thriving orchard. It is some distance away from any of the leading public highways and shaded by trees, making it almost invisible to persons approaching it, but giving to those within it an excellent opportunity to view any one coming. It was a Quaker community and of course strongly imbued with abolition sentiments, which made it a favorite centre for fugitive slaves, who had the sincere sympathy of the people generally.

A man named William M. Padgett traveled in that community, ostensibly to repair clocks, but, in fact, to discover fugitive slaves and communicate with their owners through Henry H. Kline, who was then conspicuous as a slave-catching constable

from Philadelphia, and who acted under the direction of Commissioner Ingraham, one of the few men in the State who accepted a commission under the fugitive slave law. Padgett discovered that one or more slaves belonging to Mr. Edward Gorsuch, of Hereford, Baltimore county, Md., were living among the Quakers in Christiana, and a party from Maryland, consisting of Edward Gorsuch, alleged master of the slave; his son, Dickerson Gorsuch; his nephew, Dr. Pierce, and several others under the lead of Constable Kline were discovered early in the morning in ambush close to the residence of William Parker, a colored man. They were discovered by another colored man, an inmate of the house, who had started out to pursue his daily labor, and he at once fled to his home with the slave hunters in pursuit.

The constable and his party entered the house of Parker, but the negroes had retreated to the upper floor, from the windows of which they sounded the alarm by blowing a horn. This was responded to by two shots fired by the assailants without effect. Mr. Gorsuch then came forward and demanded his slaves, which he claimed were hidden in the house. He was answered with the positive assurance that the negroes would never be taken alive as slaves. A large number of the negroes from the neighborhood, summoned by the horn, flocked to the scene of trouble, and all of them were armed with guns or clubs. They remained in woods nearby awaiting the necessity for action, and again Gorsuch and his party were warned to leave and assured that it would be a battle unto death if an attempt were made to capture them. For several hours the parley was continued until the blacks were increased to fifty or more, and there was imminent danger of a bloody conflict.

Castner Hanway, a Quaker, who lived in the neighborhood, hearing the sound of the horn and noting the gathering of the blacks, rode up to the Parker house, where he was joined by Elijah Lewis, another Quaker, both men of the highest character in their community and devoted to peace. They came solely for the purpose of avoiding a conflict and sought to persuade Gorsuch and his party from provoking a collision that must result in the death of many. As soon as these Quakers appeared upon the scene Constable Kline, then acting in the capacity of deputy marshal, immediately ordered them to aid

in the capture of the fugitive slaves, which they naturally refused to obey, and they earnestly appealed to Kline and the Gorsuch party to cease the hopeless effort of less than half a score of men capturing fugitive slaves from fifty or sixty armed negroes, who had resolved to die rather than be captured or permit any of their number to be taken.

Hanway and Lewis also exerted their influence to prevent violence on the part of the colored people. Gorsuch's son appealed to his father to give up the contest, but the father refused. Finding that they could accomplish nothing, Hanway and Lewis started away after again earnestly urging the Gorsuch party to give up the contest. Soon after they left one of the negroes attempted to come out of the house and he was at once covered by Gorsuch's revolver. The negro urged him to go away if he did not want to get hurt, and pushing Gorsuch by he passed out. Gorsuch at once opened fire on the negro and his son and nephew joined him, but that provoked the negroes to open fire and make an attack upon the Gorsuch party. Gorsuch was killed by the first volley fired by the negroes and his son wounded. The others precipitately fled and joined Constable Kline, who had taken a safe position before the firing began. A number of the negroes were wounded, but none dangerously. The dead body of Gorsuch, who had come to capture his slaves, was sent to his home, and his son, who had been protected from the fury of the negroes by Parker himself, was well provided for until he recovered.

The Christiana battle was the first bloody struggle under the fugitive slave law, and it made a profound impression upon the people of both Pennsylvania and of the nation at large. It determined a most earnest and desperate contest for Governor between William F. Johnson, Governor of the State and a candidate for re-election, and William Bigler, who succeeded him. Johnson had served one term with distinguished credit, and his re-election was generally confessed by friend and foe until the Christiana battle was fought. Philadelphia was then the great commercial city of the South, and while Whig in faith and not pro-slavery as were most of the Democrats of that day, the commercial classes were peculiarly sensitive about slavery agitation because of its probable effect upon the business of the city; and throughout the State there was a large Whig element

that supported the compromise measure including the fugitive slave law, then known as "silver grays" among those who spoke of them with respect, and as "dough faces" in less reverent political circles. The whole Whig press of the city and some of the ablest in the State denounced the killing of Gorsuch in unmeasured terms, and as Governor Johnson was a representative of the anti-slavery element of the party he was thus doomed to defeat and he lost his election by 8,000 majority.

The sequel of the *Christiana* battle was the arrest of Castner Hanway and Elijah Lewis, both prominent Quaker citizens, with some forty or fifty others, mostly negroes, on the charge of high treason for levying war against the government of the United States. They were denied the right of bail and were incarcerated in prison from the 11th of September until they were brought into the United States Court at Philadelphia before Judges Green and Kane, on the 24th of November, for trial on the grave charges of which they were accused. The trial was one of the most exciting ever had in the State. An entire week was employed in obtaining a jury, after the United States District Attorney had set aside twenty jurors exclusive of his right to challenge. Thaddeus Stevens, John M. Read, Theodore C. Cuyler and Joseph J. Lewis, four of the most prominent lawyers of the State, and two of them leading Democrats, conducted the defense, while District Attorney John W. Ashmead was assisted by the Attorney General of Maryland and by James Cooper then a Whig United States Senator from Pennsylvania, who had supported the compromise measures.

It was certainly one of the most notable legal battles in the history of Pennsylvania judicial trials. Lucretia Mott, the most prominent and beloved of the Quaker women of the State, attended the trial personally every day, and after the elaborate argument of counsel, Judge Green delivered his charge that occupied a closely-printed pamphlet of twenty-three pages. The jury retired, and in ten minutes returned into the court with the verdict of "not guilty." In this case only Castner Hanway was on trial, and after his acquittal by the jury, he was discharged, as were all his associates, who had been in prison for more than three months. Mr. Hanway appealed to the court to be relieved of the costs incurred by him in furnishing witnesses, but it was denied, and broken in health by his imprisonment,

and suffering expenses which he could ill afford, he never fully recovered from the harsh exactions of imprisonment and trial. He lived at his old home until 1878, when he went West and settled at Wilbur, Nebraska, where he died on the 26th of May, 1893, and, in accordance with his desire, his remains were brought back to Longwood Cemetery, near Kennett Square, to rest with the dust of his Quaker kindred.

The *Christiana* battle, the killing of the claimant of the slaves and the wounding of others, impressed the South with the fact that the recovery of fugitive slaves had ceased to be practically possible, and it profoundly deepened the apprehension of leaders in the slavery cause as to the safety of the institution. On the other hand, the arrest and imprisonment of Hanway and his associates, and his trial, involving our ablest judges and lawyers, profoundly impressed the people of the North with the fact that there was an "irrepressible conflict" between the North and the South on the slavery issue that must, in the fulness of time and at no distant day, either disrupt the Union or involve the country in fraternal war. Thus were the fearfully fruitful seeds sown a full decade before open civil war began that called millions of reapers into its harvest of death.

During the decade from 1851 to 1861, when the Civil War burst upon the country in all its fearful fury, the people of both sections were moving steadily and surely and almost imperceptibly to the consummation of the great conflict. The supporters of slavery, inflamed by the failure of the compromise measures, which did not bring them a single slave State in the large territory acquired from Mexico, became violently aggressive and finally summoned their forces in 1854 to repeal the Missouri compromise for the purpose of forcing slavery into Kansas and Nebraska. The bloody conflict between the sturdy Free State men and the Missouri invaders made adjustment of the dispute more difficult with each succeeding day, and the *Dred Scott* decision, substantially declaring that the black man had no rights which the white man was bound to respect, deepened and intensified the convictions of the North, and compelled them to gird their loins and be prepared for the inevitable conflict. In all these great efforts to benefit slavery even their victories turned to ashes. The compromise measures gave them only the fugitive slave law that was

a dead letter in the North, and that mocked their efforts to regain fugitive slaves. California was already a free State, and the other Mexican territories gave no promise of strengthening slavery. Kansas and Nebraska were made free States after the humiliating defeat of those who had desperately battled for slavery, and it soon became evident that the fate of the Dred Scott decision would be a reversal by the sovereign power of the republic. Thus both sections were steadily but surely drifting to the fearful arbitrament of civil war.

The second battle of our Civil War began at Harper's Ferry on the 16th of October, 1859, by a force commanded by John Brown as captain, and consisting of John Brown and his three sons, Owen, Oliver and Watson, William and Adolphus Thompson, brothers of Henry, husband of Captain Brown's oldest daughter; John Henri Kagi, Aaron Dwight Stevens, John Edwin Cook, William H. Leeman, George Plummer Tidd, Jeremiah G. Anderson, Albert Hazlett, Stewart Taylor, Edwin and Barclay Coppoc and Francis J. Merriam, white men, and Osborne P. Anderson, William Copeland, Lewis Sherrard Leary and Shields Green, colored.

John Brown made his base of operations in preparing for his Virginia campaign, the object of which was to incite the slaves to insurrection at Chambersburg, where I then resided. I saw him nearly every day for several weeks in the crowd that usually assembled about the post office before the arrival of the evening mail. He made himself known to a number of our citizens, including myself, as Dr. Smith, and as engaged in preparations for the development of minerals in Maryland. He was very modest and unassuming and no one in the entire community suspected his true identity. He attracted no attention because his business was presumably legitimate and one in which the people of the town had little interest. In his conversation with citizens he carefully avoided any expressions on the subject of slavery, and he was regarded as a quiet, intelligent business man.

Two days before the attack on Harper's Ferry a handsome young man entered my office and asked me to write his will. He was accompanied by a friend, whom he introduced as Mr. Henry, but who, in fact, was J. Henri Kagi. We retired into the private office and I wrote his will. After making a few

special bequests he willed the bulk of his estate to the Anti-Slavery Society of Massachusetts, but there was nothing very remarkable in that and I gave it no more than a passing thought. When the writing of the will was finished he signed it "Francis J. Merriam." He was unusually bright and intelligent and said he was going on a journey South and thought it best to dispose of his property to guard against accidents. My surprise may be well understood when, within three days, I read the startling story of the battle of Harper's Ferry and among the names of those engaged in it was Francis J. Merriam. He was one of the few who were unharmed in the conflict and made his escape. He managed to get to the railroad in Maryland, passed on to Philadelphia, where he remained over night at the Merchants' Hotel, registering his true name, and proceeded next morning to Boston.

When Brown began his campaign against Harper's Ferry he rented what was known as the Kennedy farm in Washington county, Maryland, four miles from Harper's Ferry. It was an isolated place and of little value, as the rental was only \$35 a year. At that place his various consultations were held, his pikes and other implements of warfare were shipped ostensibly as mining tools, and on Sunday, the 16th of October, 1859, Captain Brown had his army complete at the Kennedy farm and was ready for the battle. He arose on that Sunday morning earlier than usual and summoned his army to prayer. He first read a chapter from the Bible, more or less applicable to slavery, and then fervently prayed for divine assistance in the liberation of the bondman. The roll call was made soon after breakfast and every name responded to, when a sentinel was posted to prevent surprise. At 10 o'clock the army was assembled in council, with Osborne P. Anderson, colored, in the chair. He then read the constitution of his organization, completed the commissions of his officers, and prepared elaborate and detailed orders for the attack to be made that night.

When darkness had come the movement began, and Cook and Tidd were assigned the task of cutting the telegraph wires. Brown's force crossed the bridge to Harper's Ferry, captured the watchman without creating alarm and was soon in the arsenal grounds. The watchman in the armory shouted the alarm, but he was soon silenced and the arsenal was in possession of Brown without having created any disturbance in the com-



munity. This was all effected before 11 o' clock in the night. The movement was discovered by the relief watchman, Patrick Higgins, who came on at midnight, and upon whom the first shot was fired, but Higgins made his escape and gave the alarm. When daylight came the little town was in consternation at the possession of the arsenal and government works by a band of insurgents. In answer to a complaint of the conductor of the Baltimore and Ohio train Brown said: "We want liberty; the ground, bridge and town are in our hands." Citizens at once began to arm as the news spread rapidly, and people came from the surrounding country, most of them with their guns.

Anarchy soon prevailed in the village of Harper's Ferry. The people flocked in by hundreds, took possession of the saloons and many of them shooting at random during the day and evening of the 17th, and in the night the United States marines came under command of Colonel Robert E. Lee. In the meantime several squads of Brown's army were scouring the country capturing hostages and taking possession of citizens and slaves. Among the hostages held was Colonel Washington, whom they informed that they intended to take his slaves but not his life. The slaves were crowded into a family carriage and a four horse wagon, and on their way a number of colored men joined them.

Brown and his command could have retreated with little loss any time up to noon on the 17th, but after that they were compelled to fight for their lives. Even when informed that the marines were arriving, which made his battle an utterly hopeless one, his only answer was: "Men, be cool; we will give them a warm reception." I have every reason to believe that Brown had decided either to succeed in the battle, in which he expected to be aided by hundreds of insurrectionary slaves, or to die in the struggle. He was morbidly fanatical in the cause to which he gave his life, and it is evident that he either relied upon an immense slave support, or intended to sacrifice himself and his men in the struggle, as he had ample opportunity to escape at any time in the early part of the 17th.

Of the citizen prisoners his squads had brought in during the night of the 16th and 17th, Brown selected eight to be held as hostages. When he found that he was compelled to retreat into the engine house and was about to be assailed by overwhelming numbers, he notified the hostages that their fate would be the fate that his assailants accorded to him and his command. When

Colonel Lee, who was in command of the marines, communicated with Brown and urged him to surrender, Brown's answer was, "No, I prefer to die here." He then proceeded to barricade the doors and windows of the engine house into which his little force was driven, and desultory firing continued during all the day of the 17th until late at night. While half of Brown's men were killed, the prisoner hostages escaped unhurt.

Finding that Brown would not surrender, Colonel Lee finally ordered an assault, and the door was battered in, when Lieutenant Green, of the marines, entered at the head of his command and immediately selected Brown for his attack. With an undercut of his sword he pierced Brown in the abdomen, when Brown fell. The handful of men remaining with Brown who had escaped death or had failed to flee, were speedily made prisoners. Oliver and Watson Brown, William and Adolphus Thompson, John H. Kagi, William Leeman, Stewart Taylor, Lewis S. Leary, Jeremiah Anderson and D. Newby were killed in the battle, but Owen Brown, Cook, Tidd, Coppoc, Merriam, Hazlett and Anderson escaped. Of these Cook and Hazlett were captured and executed with Stevenson, Coppoc and Green.

Hazlett was captured near Shippensburg in the Cumberland Valley and was supposed to be Cook. The result was a requisition brought from Richmond to Carlisle for Cook, but the mistaken identity was discovered, and that was fatal to Cook, who was subsequently arrested in the South Mountain and lodged in the Chambersburg prison. I acted as his counsel in the utterly hopeless effort to escape the consequences of his lawlessness, but he would doubtless have escaped from the prison on the second night had not a requisition for him been at Carlisle, only thirty miles distant, that came unexpectedly at noon on the second day. Oliver Brown, Coppoc, Tidd and Anderson, most of whom were wounded, and Oliver Brown very seriously, made slow night marches through the South Mountain to Chambersburg, where they were hidden and fed by a very few sympathetic friends who knew of their presence in the neighborhood, until they were strong enough to continue the marches along the underground railway across the mountains to Bell's Mills in the Juniata Valley, whence they proceeded northward. Brown remained at his home in Crawford county and no attempt was made to capture him.

The Harper's Ferry battle was a bloody one. A large majority of Brown's entire force were either killed or executed and

most of the others wounded. Ten of the attacking party were killed during the fight, seven were executed and five escaped. The number of colored men slain by the reckless firing of the belligerents is given at seventeen, and of the citizens and soldiers engaged in the attack on Brown eight were killed, including one colored man, and nine wounded. Among the killed was Mayor Beckan, of the city. The feeling of the Virginia people was aroused to fiendish intensity, and the bodies of some of the insurgents who had fallen in the battle were subjected to nameless brutality.

The Harper's Ferry battle aroused the South to intense bitterness and resentment, and Governor Wise of Virginia made a most dramatic exhibition at the execution of Brown and his fellow prisoners. He was strongly urged by such prominent slavery leaders of the North as Fernando Wood and others to commute the punishment of the prisoners to imprisonment for life as a matter of public policy and safety to the South, but Governor Wise refused to entertain the proposition and the execution of these prisoners is yet memorable in Virginia as one of the most impressive exhibitions ever given in the history of the State. It would have been eminently wise for the Virginia Governor to have treated Brown and his fellow prisoners as fanatical beyond full responsibility of the law, but the ostentatious exhibition of vengeance that came up from Virginia did much to deepen and widen the anti-slavery sentiment of the North.

Few ventured to excuse Brown's mad raid on Harper's Ferry to incite the slaves to insurrection, but he gave his life in such heroic devotion to his cause that the Northern people were impressed far beyond what they themselves had knowledge, as was proved by the scores of thousands of soldiers in blue who, but two years later, marched to fraternal conflict to the inspiring song of "John Brown's Body Lies Mouldering in the Grave."

Such was the second battle of our Civil War. It drew the lines between slavery and anti-slavery more sharply than they had ever been drawn before, and thenceforth it was only a question when the terrible conflict must begin. The election of Lincoln the following year simply precipitated, but did not cause, the sanguinary struggle that through four years of the bloodiest conflict of history the soldiers alike of the blue and gray wrote records of the grandest heroism of the world's history.

## THE BATTLE OF BRODERICK, BAKER AND McKIBBEN TO HOLD THE PA- CIFIC REGION TO THE UNION.

Three men, each the sole architect of his own fortune, bore the burden and heat of the day in shaping the destiny of the Pacific slope when the struggle came to engulf that section either in a struggle for separate empire, or to have it join the South in a revolutionary effort to dismember the Union. These men were David C. Broderick, Edward D. Baker and Joseph C. McKibben. Each of their careers is replete with romance. Their struggles for fame and fortune brought them many sore disappointments. Two of them died a tragic death, while the other witnessed his friend fall in a duel that was provoked by the deliberate purpose to end the power and career of the chosen victim on what is called the field of honor.

The student of today, in looking over the history of the far West and its wonderful development and prosperity, can little understand the desperate battles which had to be fought by the brave pioneers of the golden shores of the Pacific to maintain the mastery of loyalty to the Union. Broderick and Baker gave their lives as proof of their patriotic devotion to free government, and McKibben braved the flame of battle as one of the most gallant soldiers during the Civil War.

In 1860 there were but two States on the Pacific coast—California and Oregon. The population of Oregon gave that State but one Representative in Congress, and California had only two. The wealth of the Pacific coast was then well understood, and there were many leading men who dreamed of a separate and independent empire, or, failing in that, hoped to cast the destiny of the Pacific with the South in dismembering the Union. The battle for the mastery of the slavery sentiment, under the lead of William W. Gwin and Chief Justice Terry, was fought out with the utmost desperation. Gwin was a master leader; had represented Tennessee in Congress, and repaired to California in 1848, being one year in advance of the memorable

"forty-niners." He was one of the first Senators with Fremont when California was admitted in 1850, and at the close of his term he was confronted and mastered by David E. Broderick, one of the most remarkable characters of American history.

Broderick's father had emigrated from Ireland to accept employment as a stone cutter on the National Capitol, and the son was born in Washington on the 4th of February, 1820. When only three years old his father moved to New York, where the son served an apprenticeship to the stone cutter's trade. He soon became prominent in the Volunteer Fire Department, and in 1846 he was defeated as the Democratic candidate for Congress. He was one of the earliest of the "forty-niners" to make the tedious and perilous trip to California, equally tedious and perilous whether over land or by sea, and among the sturdy pioneers of the new gold fields he soon became a leader. During his first year as a resident he served as a member of the Constitutional Convention, was later twice elected to the Senate, and became its presiding officer.

Until 1856 the Gwin-Terry leadership known as the "velvet heads," was in control of the politics of the State, but in that year Broderick and McKibben won out, resulting in the election of McKibben to Congress and Broderick to the Senate. It was a bitter defeat to the older and more experienced leaders who represented the pro-slavery cause, and Broderick committed the one great error of his life by consenting to a treaty of peace with Gwin and permitting him to be elected to the Senate as Broderick's colleague. The terms of the treaty were humiliating to Gwin, and he not only assented to them, but they were proclaimed to the public. He knew that with a Democratic President elected almost wholly by the South and on sectional issues he would occupy the vantage ground in Washington as a Senator and accomplish the overthrow of Broderick.

Broderick soon took issue with the administration on the slavery question and Gwin became the absolute master of the whole power of the general government in his State. Severe friction naturally followed between the two Senators, but Broderick was fearless and earnest in supporting his cause. He was one of the quietest and most unassuming members of the Senate and rarely took the floor in debate, but when he did speak he was always heard with respect and always spoke eloquently and incisively. He opposed the policy of the administration on the

Kansas-Nebraska bill and was one of the sturdiest of the Democratic leaders in opposition of that policy. In a speech delivered in the Senate on the 22d of March, 1858, discussing the great issue that had been forced upon the country by the South, he admonished the friends of slavery of the folly of the battle they had precipitated. He said: "Slavery is old, decrepit and consumptive; freedom is young, strong and vigorous. One is naturally stationary and loves ease; the other is migratory and enterprising. There are 6,000,000 of people interested in the extension of slavery; there are 20,000,000 of free-men to contend for these Territories out of which to carve for themselves homes where labor is honorable."

The power of the administration was a controlling political factor in his State, and it gave an easy victory to the opponents of Broderick. McKibben had stood heroically with Broderick from the beginning of the struggle, although his father was Buchanan's closest friend. After unfurling the flag of freedom and fighting its battle tirelessly in Washington, Broderick and McKibben returned to their far distant State to engage in the hopeless effort of defending their cause before the people. McKibben was rejected as a Democratic candidate for Congress for re-election, and he and Colonel E. D. Baker, who had made his home in California a few years before, took the field as independent candidates. Broderick, Baker and McKibben were on the hustings from the opening to the close of the contest and bowed undaunted to the defeat that they knew was inevitable.

Triumphant in their contest against Broderick and McKibben, the Gwin-Terry coterie deliberately resolved to force Broderick to meet his foes in a duel until he fell in the unequal contest. When he left Washington to return home in the spring of 1859, when the sectional issue had become most intense, and in California had been carried to the extent of absolute personal estrangement, he knew the fate that he must accept. He had made a most impressive reply to the irritating speech of Senator Hammond, of South Carolina, who had personally reflected upon Senator Broderick by referring to the industrial class of the North from which Broderick had sprung as the "mudsills of society." Speaking of the workingmen of the nation he said: "If I were inclined to forget my connection with them, or to deny that I sprang from them, this chamber would not be the place in which I could do either. While I hold a seat I have but

to look at the beautiful capital adorning the pilasters which support this roof to be reminded of my father's talent and to see his handiwork." He then spoke of the great battle he was making for the sons of toil, in which he said: "If I fall in the struggle for reputation and fortune there is no relative on earth to mourn my death."

On his return to California he entered into the political contest, hopeless as it was, and knowing that he would be called to account by his enemies, he announced that he would take no notice of personal controversy until after the election, to be held on the 7th of September. Immediately after the election in which Broderick was not disappointed at his defeat, he was challenged by Chief Justice Terry, and on the 13th of the same month he met Terry on the field of honor with McKibben as his second, and fell at the first fire, with his antagonist unharmed. He lingered until the 16th, when he died, and his death did more than all other causes combined to bring California back to a sternly loyal attitude, and gave her electoral vote to Lincoln, with Douglas leading Breckinridge several thousand votes.

The death of Broderick made a most profound impression on the country, and was indeed second only to the assassination of Lincoln in its appeal to the loyal sympathy of the nation. The mute eloquence that came from the grave of the dead Broderick was an hundred fold more persuasive for the loyal cause than were all the efforts and teaching that a live Broderick could have given. He was not only mourned as a martyr to his faith, but throughout the wide circle of his friends there was the profoundest sense of personal bereavement.

Broderick was a law unto himself. Beginning his prominence as a New York fireman, and continuing as one of the earliest pioneers in California, he was a man entirely apart from his associates in most of their qualities. He was unknown in the resorts of vice and pleasure, so commonly accepted by the earliest pioneers in the absence of the restraints of home and society. He never entered a saloon or took a drink of wine or liquor. He never was known to engage in a game of chance at cards. The profanity and broad story which were inseparable in the association in which he lived and moved, never passed his lips, and yet he was worshipped by the great mass of the rude pioneers with an idolatry that was never given to any other of the many who builded wiser than they knew in rearing

the great Commonwealth of the Golden Gate. He had fought his great battle for the friendless and lowly; had given his life as a sacrifice for his convictions of duty, and when he fell as the victim of a murderous conspiracy, he left no kith or kin to bedew his grave with tears.

I saw much of Broderick during his service in the Senate. He was often at the hospitable board of Colonel Forney, whose friendship for Broderick bordered on the romantic. He was a man of very gentle and agreeable manners, always dressed in quiet elegance, and while a delightful conversationalist he was ever most unobtrusive. He was a man of most conscientious devotion to duty and commanded the respect of all within the range of his acquaintance by his earnest and dignified devotion to his faith. In the Senate he always sat quietly in his seat where his fellow Senators would often stop to chat with him.

The conversations I had with him profoundly impressed me with the failure of the industrial and producing people of the country to dignify themselves and command the respect of the world by justly cherishing their own self-respect. His reply in the Senate to Senator Chestnut was a painful confession of the humiliation the workingmen of the country suffered because they did not properly respect themselves. With such convictions and with his sad experience in the rude battle he had fought for distinction, it is not surprising that he became the heroic champion of freedom and the uncompromising foe of slavery, and that his earnest, tireless and unblemished record in defense of his people was sealed with his death.

Edward D. Baker, next to Broderick, rendered the most heroic service in the great struggle to bring the Pacific slope into harmony with the Union and in opposition to the demands of slavery. He was the opposite of Broderick in almost every feature and fibre. Like Broderick he sprang from the humblest walks of life and started his career in Philadelphia as a "bobbin" boy. He was born in London, February 24, 1811, and was brought to this country by his father when five years of age. He moved to the far West at an early day, and settled at Springfield, Ill., where he acquired a fair English education and was admitted to the bar. He was chosen to the Legislature in 1837, to the State Senate in 1840, and in 1844 was elected a member of Congress from the Springfield district, being the immediate predecessor of Abraham Lincoln. He re-



signed his seat in Congress to command a regiment in the Mexican war, and after having made a highly creditable record as a soldier, when the war closed he returned to Illinois and settled in Galena, from which district he was again elected to Congress in 1848.

He attained a high position in Illinois as a lawyer, and especially as an advocate, as he was one of the most eloquent and impressive orators of the West. In 1851 he settled in San Francisco, and for eight years he was regarded as one of the foremost leaders of the California bar. He ran for Congress with McKibben in 1858 in opposition to the pro-slavery Democracy of the State, and when defeated he removed to Oregon, and in 1861 was elected to the United States Senate by the united vote of the Republicans and Douglas Democrats.

Colonel Baker was the most eloquent of all the many able men who confronted the Gwin-Terry, or pro-slavery, organization in California, and during the eight years of his residence in that State he stood in the forefront of the fight with Broderick and McKibben to maintain the Union inviolate. Baker came down from Oregon to San Francisco to deliver the oration on the death of the martyr to the Union and freedom, and that address is accepted as one of the most eloquent and impressive ever delivered in the history of the Republic.

Baker took his seat in the Senate with the inauguration of Lincoln in 1861, and when war came he was among the first to offer his services in the field. He was one of the most impulsive and restless men I ever knew. I saw him many times, but never in repose. He was delightful in conversation, keen in invective, admirable in wit, and as eloquent in conversation, when he warmed up to his subject, as he was on the floor of the Senate. He always seemed to me to be a man whose life was being fretted away, and the only solution of the matter was that, having won the highest legislative honors of the nation, he was excluded from the highest civil trust of the government because of his alien birth. A man of his vigorous enthusiasm and hopefulness could well dream the dream of the Presidency, but that honor of the republic was forbidden him.

One of the most interesting episodes in the history of the Senate was an entirely unexpected and unpremeditated speech delivered by Colonel Baker, in reply to ex-Vice President Breckin-

ridge, of Kentucky, who became a Senator at the expiration of his term of Vice President. Baker was in the field with his regiment, but he frequently visited Washington, and happened one day into the Senate when Breckinridge was delivering the ablest speech that the Senate heard in defense of the action of the South seceding from the Union. Baker came wearing his fatigue uniform, and was at once attracted by the earnest and impressive speech of the ex-Vice President, and when Breckinridge sat down Baker sprang to his feet and addressed the Senate in a measure of fervency and eloquence that can never be forgotten. His speech, although the creation of a sudden impulse, was strangely and grandly prophetic. He told how the Union would triumph in the fraternal conflict, and how even if it cost untold millions of treasure and hundreds of thousands of lives, it would emerge from the struggle greater and grander than ever before.

It was one of the most impressive scenes that ever occurred in the first legislative tribunal of the nation, and it was more reverently remembered when only a few weeks thereafter the eloquent Senator gave his life to his country on the Ball's Bluff battlefield. Broderick's work was left unfinished when he fell in the duel with Terry, but Baker came from a newer State on the Pacific slope to aid in the grand consummation, and, like Broderick, he sealed his patriotic devotion to the Republic with his life. Thus after only a few weeks of service in the Senate, Colonel Baker's great work was finished, and the Senate and the country lost one of their most eloquent and loyal defenders. The death of Senator Baker, like that of Senator Broderick, was felt throughout the land as a national bereavement, and I saw thousands after thousands pay their last tribute of respect to him as his scarred body lay in state in Independence Hall.

Of the trio who contributed most to shape the destiny of the Pacific slope in harmony with the Union, Joseph C. McKibben was the only one who lived to see the complete triumph of the cause for which they each had battled with such earnestness and self-sacrifice. Born in Pennsylvania of rugged Scotch-Irish Democratic stock, he was among the earliest of the "forty-niners" to seek fortune in California, where he was serving with Broderick in the Senate when one was elected to the United States Senate and the other to Congress. He was a man

of few words but always heroic in purpose. His towering form over six feet three, almost perfect in symmetrical proportions, made him a most imposing personality on all occasions. He was sorely tried when the Kansas-Nebraska issue arose in Congress, as his father, the late Chambers McKibben, was one of the closest friends of President Buchanan, and had done as much as any other one man to accomplish Buchanan's nomination; but even when earnestly appealed to by his father to harmonize with the administration, the brave pioneer of the Pacific gently but firmly answered by saying that his convictions forbade his approval of the policy of the administration, and he henceforth made aggressive warfare with Broderick and lived to see the fullest fruition of his hopes.

McKibben had stood beside Broderick on the field when Terry's bullet laid Broderick low; he saw the sacrifice that was made in the cause for which he battled and he never ceased in his efforts for the final victory until he saw the Union fully restored and slavery only a painful memory. When war came he entered the army and rendered heroic service in the Southwest on the staff of Rosecrans. He and three of his brothers were clad in their country's blue in the greatest war of history, and when peace came and the great battle of his life had resulted in victory, he quietly settled down in Washington, where he lived until a few years ago, when the inexorable messenger called him to the unknown life beyond.

Such is in brief the history of the trio of men without whom California would have been mastered by the anti-union element of the South, or led into the vortex of the independent empire. It was a hard, indeed a desperate, battle that they fought in the early stages of the conflict, but they never wearied however disasters seemed to surge upon them. Two of them met untimely and tragic death because of their devotion to country, and long years thereafter the sequel of the Broderick tragedy came in the equally tragic death of the man who bore the blood of Broderick upon his skirts.

## GALES AND BLAIR, THE GREAT EDITORS OF OLDEN TIMES.

The history of the great editors of the olden time from the organization of the government until a half century ago, would be practically a history of American journalism during that period. Newspapers were a luxury, were few in number, limited in circulation, and their importance and influence depended wholly upon the individuality of the editor. Leaving out Franklin, whose greatest distinction was in other lines although rather an audacious pioneer in American journalism, the one name that stands out with the clearest prominence as the exemplar of the best journalism during the first half of the last century, is that of Joseph Gales, who for more than fifty years was connected with the National Intelligencer and soon gave it the high national character that it maintained until its death.

Joseph Gales came from sturdy English stock. His father, after a desperate struggle as editor and proprietor of the Sheffield Register, was finally driven from England because of his independence in defying the autocratic power of that day by what was declared to be seditious teaching, and after much tribulation he finally reached Philadelphia with his family in the summer of 1795. He obtained employment as a printer, but soon commanded special recognition by furnishing in the rude shorthand of that day, a complete transcript of the proceedings in Congress for the Independent Gazetteer. In a short time he became owner of the paper and continued its publication until 1799, when he was induced to leave Philadelphia because of the then general apprehension that the yellow fever scourge was likely to be an annual visitor to the city. He moved to Raleigh, N. C., and there established the Raleigh Register, named after his Sheffield seditious organ, and the Raleigh journal was maintained as one of the ablest and most influential papers of the South by the Gales family until civil war engulfed it.

When the government was moved to Washington in 1800 Samuel Harrison Smith, who had purchased the Gazetteer from

the elder Gales, moved with the government to the new capital, and there established it as the *National Intelligencer*, and in 1807 the younger Joseph Gales, who had been trained to journalism under his father at Raleigh, was engaged as an assistant to Mr. Smith in the editorial and business direction of the paper. He rose rapidly in his journalistic work and became a partner of Mr. Smith within two years. In 1810 Mr. Smith severed his connection with the paper, leaving Mr. Gales sole proprietor. In 1812 W. W. Seaton, who had married a sister of Joseph Gales, became connected with the *Intelligencer*, and it was published by Gales & Seaton from that time until the 31st of December, 1864, when the greatest of all our public journals during the early part of the last century perished in the tempest of civil war.

Joseph Gales, like his father, had practiced the printer's craft in Philadelphia, where he became a master in the art of stenography, and his high standard of intellectual vigor and culture made him one of the ablest political disputants of the nation. Mr. Seaton, his partner, had also acquired proficiency in shorthand reporting, and they made the only reports of the debates in Congress that approached accuracy until official reports became recognized as a necessity. Mr. Gales reported the proceedings in the Senate, and Mr. Seaton reported them in the House. It was only by Mr. Gales' shorthand report that Webster's reply to Hayne, accepted as the ablest exposition of constitutional rights ever given by an American statesman, was preserved precisely as it was delivered. His notes were carefully preserved, magnificently bound, and are yet held by some of the Webster descendants as one of the most valuable of the many relics of the great expounder.

I met Joseph Gales many times, but only in a casual way, and have no claim to intimate acquaintance with him, but as I had read the weekly *National Intelligencer* with the aid of a tallow dip when an apprentice, and highly enjoyed its great editorials, unsurpassed in purity and diction and forceful expression, I was always interested in the man, and was specially gratified on my later rare visits to Washington of those days to get even a glimpse of the great American editor. He was a most accomplished gentleman of the old school, always courteous and delightfully genial in the circle of his home and intimate friends. He possessed a commanding personality and the strongly

marked intellectuality of his features, with his perfect grace of manner, attracted all who came within the range of his movements.

Mr. Gales became connected with the *National Intelligencer* during the last term of the Jefferson administration, and from that time until the advent of Jackson, in 1829, the *Intelligencer*, under his direction, was what might be called the organ of the administration of Jefferson, Madison, Monroe and John Quincy Adams. It was not an organ in the sense in which the term is generally accepted now. The government had no favors which it was compelled to seek. It commanded the limited patronage of the government solely by reason of its exceptionally strong position as a Washington and national public journal, and while it rarely had occasion to criticise the public policy of those administrations, it often took the lead in clearing the political pathway when grave problems were presented to the government.

The editorials in the *Intelligencer* before and during the war of 1812 were regarded as ranking with the teachings of Clay in the House and Crawford in the Senate, who were the recognized oracles of the war sentiment of the country. In the meantime the *Intelligencer* had grown to be a widely circulated daily for that period, with semi-weekly and weekly editions which reached every State in the Union. It was the most delectable of all the great papers ever published in this country. It had all the dignity of the *London Times*, tempered and embellished with a degree of vigor and progress which made it quite as highly respected in the new world as was the *London Times* in the old world. There were then no telegraphs or telephones, and most of the time no railways to crowd news into the editorial sanctum, and beyond the editorials of the leading newspapers the chief labor of such a journal was an intelligent use of scissors and paste. The paper was most studiously edited from the first to the last column, and its news and selections were given in the most inviting form. I have often seen the *Daily National Intelligencer*, when Gales was in the zenith of his greatness, issued with less than half a column of editorial matter. Editorials were not then regarded as a daily necessity, but when occasion demanded elaborate discussion of any public question a leader would appear in the *Intelligencer* filling two or three columns, and sometimes even a full page. They were essays rather than editorial leaders,

and as polished as if they came from the pen of a Macaulay. The idea of anything even approaching sensationalism in presenting the news was never for a moment entertained, and thus for more than half a century the *National Intelligencer*, under the direction of Joseph Gales, pursued the even dignified tenor of its way.

When Jackson came into power in 1829, bringing with him a horde of political expectants that swarmed upon Washington in search of spoils, Mr. Gales had his first lesson in political antagonism, and he proved to be one of the most effective of all the assailants of the policy of Jackson that culminated in the overthrow of Van Buren in 1840. The criticisms of Jackson's policy were as fearless and able as they were dignified, and they searchingly exposed the political faults of the administration while sustaining it in great trials when Jackson was right, such as was presented in the South Carolina nullification episode. Mr. Gales was heartily for the majesty of the national authority, but he profoundly and incisively deplored the new political policy that came with Jackson openly proclaiming that "to the victors belong the spoils."

Until Jackson became President everything relating to the government was conducted on the highest plane of conventionality, and the inauguration of Jackson's methods, illustrated at times by the President smoking a corn-cob pipe while informally receiving visitors and officials in the White House, was a rude shock alike to the social and political methods which had so uniformly prevailed in Washington. The first of all the humorous and satirical political writers to attain fame was the author of the Jack Downing (Seba Smith) letters in the *National Intelligencer*. They were relatively quite as widely read and commented on at that time as were the letters of Petroleum V. Nasby during the war and reconstruction periods. The fact that these letters appeared in the most dignified and respected journal of the country was conclusive evidence that they exhibited the highest type of the satirist, and it is known that the keen invective of Jack Downing was a more irritating thorn in the side of Jackson and his political followers than were the assaults of any of the able journals of the country which were then in opposition.

Of course, the high and successful standard of journalism

established by Joseph Gales would fall far short of the requirements of journalism in the present age, but it is only just to say that for a period of half a century he conducted a public journal of national reputation, and maintained a pre-eminent position in American journalism, even when brought into competition with the pioneers of progressive newspapers issued by Greeley and Bennett. The old-time journalism required little energy in gathering all the news, the most successful journals of early times became so largely because of their ability and dignified conservatism. There were many violent partisan newspapers in those days which assailed opposing parties and candidates with a measure of defamation that would not be tolerated in the present age, but it is creditable to the integrity of the olden time, that the *National Intelligencer*, which represented the absolute mastery of dignity and conservatism in journalism, was the most respected and potent of the great newspapers of that period.

Mr. Gales followed the policy of Webster as proclaimed in his great speech in reply to Hayne, and supported Harrison, Clay, Taylor and Scott as Whig candidates for the Presidency. He ardently approved and defended the compromise measures of 1850 which wrecked the Whig party, and in 1856, when the great sectional issue became paramount, he had refuge under the banner of Fillmore, whose administration he had earnestly commended. It was evident, however, that the power of this great newspaper and its great editor was sadly enfeebled, as it stood on the narrow middle ground between the fiercely contending parties organized on sectional lines. The leaders of the slave interests had gone far beyond the bounds of conservatism, and their devotion to the Union was secondary to their devotion to slavery, while the Republicans of the North, inflamed by the aggressive exactions of the slave power, offered no field for the conservative and always patriotic appeals of Joseph Gales.

The great issue that absorbed the nation had passed beyond conservative restraint, and the *National Intelligencer*, at whose utterances in former times the leaders of all parties took pause, languished in patronage, in influence and in every attribute of successful journalism, save the dignity and elegance which always embellished its columns. Fortunately in the midsummer of 1860, when the always able and earnest but almost unnoted appeals for the preservation of the Union by the election of John



Bell were well maintained, Joseph Gales was called to the dreamless couch of the dead. His great work was done, and he was gathered to his fathers before he could witness the lingering death of the great national newspaper to which he had devoted his life, and by which he made American journalism honored at home and abroad. His surviving partner and brother-in-law, Mr. Seaton, continued the struggle, but the paper was powerless as conservatism was a stranger in the fierce passions of civil war, and Mr. Seaton retired from it on the 31st of December, 1864, and soon thereafter the great National Intelligencer was only a memory.

The first of the great editors of the country to inaugurate violent and defamatory partisan warfare was William Duane, of the Philadelphia Aurora, which was the organ of Jefferson as against Washington and Adams. Its criticisms of both Washington and Adams, when in the presidency, were vituperative to a degree that no self-respecting journal would imitate in this age, but Jefferson attributed his success over Adams in 1800 very largely to Duane, who retired from the Aurora on the removal of the government to Washington, and accepted a lieutenant colonelcy in the army from Jefferson.

The next editor of this class to attain national fame was Duff Green. He established the United States Telegraph in Washington on the accession of John Quincy Adams to the Presidency, and violently assailed the administration and advocated the cause of Jackson with a degree of fervency and recklessness in painful contrast with the dignity and courtesy of Mr. Gales, of the Intelligencer, that was accepted as the organ of Adams. When the breach came between Jackson and Calhoun, Green supported Calhoun, and a new organ for the Jackson administration became a necessity.

I very well remember Duff Green, who, after his political course had been run and he was well down at the heel, came before the Pennsylvania Legislature over forty years ago, when I was a member of the House, and personally appealed to the members to pass his Fiscal Agency bill. It was regarded by some as a huge joke and by others as the wildest of financial dreams, as, under the powers of his charter, he could have financed the nations of the world. It was generally accepted as a harmless vagary of the old man, and it was passed solely because

of the general sympathy felt for him, none dreaming that the franchise would ever be of any value. The sequel of the story may be read in the scarred history of the *Credit Mobilier*, that was simply Duff Green's Fiscal Agency granted by the Pennsylvania Legislature, changed in name and used for the construction of the Union Pacific Railway.

Green's alienation from the Jackson administration brought Amos Kendall to the front. He was one of the ablest political leaders of his day, and then held the position of Fourth Auditor of the Treasury. Kendall brought Francis P. Blair to Washington, who, like Kendall, was then a resident of Kentucky, and who was known to the President as the author of a number of able political articles defending Jackson. Mr. Blair located in Washington and established the *Globe*. The able and pungent articles of Blair and Kendall soon gave the new administration organ a national reputation. Mr. Blair's connection with the *Globe* continued for nearly twenty years, and during that period it was accepted by all as the ablest exponent of Democratic faith. Mr. Blair was not only one of the ablest political writers of his day, but he was a broad gauge political manager. He became the confidential adviser of Jackson, and he and Kendall were credited with the authorship of some of Jackson's best state papers. While the *Globe* under Mr. Blair did not approach the dignity and courtesy which were always displayed in Mr. Gales' *National Intelligencer*, that was its chief disputant in all political discussions, it did not descend to the violent vituperation of the Duane school.

The *Globe*, under Mr. Blair, continued as the organ of the Van Buren administration, and after the election and death of Harrison its leaders and its editor bore a conspicuous part in alienating Tyler from his Whig associates. I doubt whether in the history of American journalism any one editor was as great a political leader as was Francis P. Blair. Thurlow Weed approached him in that line, but could hardly be classed as his equal, and certainly not as his superior. From the time of his connection with the *Globe* until Mr. Polk, in 1845, was unfortunately persuaded to dismiss Blair from the editorship of the national organ and substitute Mr. Ritchie, of the *Richmond Inquirer*, Mr. Blair was even more potent as a Democratic leader than either of the Democratic Presidents who were so

greatly indebted to him for their success. No administration measure was adopted without his approval, and no national policy of the party and no national candidates were accepted against his protest.

General Jackson was yet living in feeble health in Mr. Polk's own State and he earnestly protested against changing Mr. Blair from the position of Democratic oracle, but Virginia had very shrewdly directed the Democratic National Convention of 1844 that nominated Polk, and "Father" Ritchie, as he was then called, who had made the *Richmond Inquirer* for many years the great organ of the mother of Presidents, was brought to Washington and installed as editor of the *Globe*, whose title was changed to that of the *Washington Union*. With the retirement of Mr. Blair the importance of the national organ perished. The *Union*, under Ritchie soon ceased to command the respect of the Democratic leaders, and while every President until the great revolution of 1861 had his organ, they steadily degenerated in public respect and influence, and during the last generation the leaders of all parties have ceased to look to Washington for political direction through the party journal.

The overthrow of Mr. Blair by Polk in 1845 was the first public confession by the administration that the Calhoun element of the Democratic party had triumphed over the mastery of Jackson; and while Mr. Blair, a devoted follower of Jackson, ceased to be a Democratic leader, he became a very important and dangerous factor in disturbing Democratic aims and success. President Polk sought to conciliate him by tendering him the Spanish mission, but it was peremptorily declined. Mr. Blair exhibited his dissent from Democratic leadership at that time by supporting Van Buren against Cass in 1848, and while he joined in the support of Pierce in 1852, he was one of the first and among the boldest to denounce the repeal of the Missouri Compromise in 1854. The revolution that followed the overthrow of the Missouri Compromise presented a confusing mass of discordant political elements with opposition to the extension of slavery as the single principle of cohesion. The occasion called for the ablest and ripest leadership, and Mr. Blair was the one man most conspicuous of all in meeting that great emergency.

He was more nearly the founder of the Republican party than

any other one man, and he presided at the Pittsburg conference in January, 1856, which proclaimed the organization of the party that made Abraham Lincoln President four years later. It is known that Henry J. Raymond wrote the address that defined the purposes of the new political organization, but the master spirit of the whole movement, and one whose counsels were most generally accepted, was Francis P. Blair. He not only was most prominent in the organization of the party, and in defining its policy, but if Francis P. Blair had not then been living John C. Fremont would not have been the Republican candidate for President in 1856. It was Mr. Blair who created Fremont as a Presidential possibility, and it was the faith of Weed, of Greeley, of Wilmot, and of many others in the political sagacity of Mr. Blair that made them accept his candidate. He chose Fremont not only because of the romance that attached to his career in the army and as an explorer, but because he was entirely unknown in politics beyond the fact that he was the son-in-law of Senator Thomas H. Benton, and he was the one man possessing some measure of national fame who presented no sharp antagonisms to the various discordant elements out of which the Republican party was created.

I met Mr. Blair many times in the early days of the Republican organization. He was not a man of imposing presence nor specially attractive in manner. He lacked the finely chiseled face and outward intellectual signs of Gales, but he impressed all who came into conference with him with his masterly ability as a political leader. He was always incisive and unimpassioned in conversation, and I do not recall a single instance in which he ever made a public speech. I met him in Philadelphia in conference with Simon Cameron, Thurlow Weed and Henry Wilson after the October election of 1856, when the Fremont ticket was defeated by only a few thousands. It was hoped that because of the small majority for the Democratic State ticket, the State might be saved for President by union on an electoral ticket, and the calculation was not greatly at fault, as is shown by the fact that Buchanan had only about one thousand majority over the combined vote of Fremont and Fillmore. Wilson was the enthusiastic and hopeful man of the party, and he earnestly urged a desperate battle to save the State, but while Cameron, Weed

and Blair accepted the necessity of making the battle they were not confident as to the result.

After discussing the situation for some time, Wilson in his hopeful enthusiasm said, "Well, they may beat us this time, but we will win in 1860." Cameron, Weed and Blair were then all crowding around the patriarchal age, and Cameron, always practical in his ideas, answered that it was very well for Wilson to look hopefully for future triumphs for the new party, but that as for himself and Blair and Weed, he "didn't see much in future victories if they had to begin by waiting four years." All of them, however, lived to play most important parts in the civil war and in reconstruction. Blair and Weed rounded out their eighty-five years, and Cameron died at the age of ninety.

Mr. Blair maintained the confidence of the Republican party as one of its great leaders; he was an important factor in effecting the nomination of Lincoln at Chicago in 1860, and was one of Lincoln's most trusted advisers during the severe trials of our civil war. During the last year of the fraternal struggle Mr. Blair believed that the time had come when there should be intermediation from some source that could command confidence on both sides, and without advising Mr. Lincoln of his purpose, so as to avoid all complications in case of his failure, he asked the President for a pass beyond the lines of the Union army. It was granted without question, because of the confidence that was reposed in the intelligence and discretion of Mr. Blair. He approached the outposts of the Southern army and presented his pass from the President and stated that his movement was entirely his own and his purpose was to confer with President Davis on the subject of peace.

He was passed through the Confederate lines to Richmond, where he had protracted conferences with Davis and those immediately in his confidence. It was this movement of Mr. Blair that led to the peace conference at City Point on the 3d of February, 1865, when Vice-President Stephens, at the head of a Confederate commission, met President Lincoln, Seward and others to find some method of ending the terrible war. He was safely returned through both armies, and earnestly urged the personal appearance of the President at the City Point conference.

With the assassination of Mr. Lincoln, Mr. Blair's mission as

a Republican leader ended. He was not in harmony with the violent and revengeful policy at first declared by Johnson, and later was no more in harmony with the violent reconstruction measures which the dispute between the President and Congress precipitated. Thereafter he acted with the Democratic party, and exhibited great skill as a leader in accomplishing the nomination of Tilden in 1876, but he did not live to see his candidate receive his popular majority of 250,000, although defeated in the electoral vote by the judgment of the Electoral Commission. On the 18th of October, 1876, Francis P. Blair, one of the greatest of the country's editors, and for nearly half a century one of the greatest of all our political masters, passed away to the City of the Silent.

## IF THEY HAD NOT FIRED ON SUMTER.

If the Confederate Government had not fired on Sumter and had refrained from any like attack upon the United States troops or the flag of the Union, I believe that the Confederacy would have been successfully established, and that the North and the South would have gradually drifted into fretful and destructive anarchy. This assertion will startle many of the students of the history of our civil war, but let the intelligent and dispassionate inquirer look the facts in the face.

Abraham Lincoln was elected President of the United States on the 6th of November, 1860, and that election was made a pretext for precipitating secession in the South. South Carolina took the initiative, and passed the ordinance of secession by a unanimous vote on the 17th of December. Georgia followed on the 19th of December, Louisiana on the 25th, Mississippi on the 9th of January, Florida on the 10th, Alabama on the 11th, Virginia on the 18th of April, Texas on the 1st of May, Arkansas on the 6th, North Carolina on the 21st, and Tennessee on the 24th, as proclaimed by Governor Harris. Kentucky was also declared out of the Union by a Southern conference or convention at Russellville that passed an ordinance of secession on the 18th of November, 1861. Missouri and Maryland were also greatly convulsed over the question of secession. Governor Hicks, of Maryland, took a strong position in favor of the Union, while Governor Jackson, of Missouri, declared in favor of recognizing the Confederacy.

Such was the action of the States of the South on the question of secession, and each convention that assumed to sever the relations between the State and the Federal Government chose members to the first Confederate Congress that met at Montgomery, the temporary capital, on February 4, 1861, with Howell Cobb as President. In accepting his position, Mr. Cobb declared that the secession of the Southern States "is now a fixed

and irrevocable fact, and that the separation is complete and perpetual."

On the 8th of February the provisional Congress adopted the constitution of the provisional government, and on the 9th Jefferson Davis was elected President and Alexander H. Stevens Vice-President. On the 16th President Davis was inaugurated with imposing ceremonies, and a full Cabinet appointed, with L. Pope Walker, of Alabama, as Secretary of War. It will be seen that just one month before the inauguration of President Lincoln the Confederate government had been organized and was speedily in full operation at Montgomery, assuming all the functions of national authority.

It is most important to understand the precise military situation at the time of the inauguration of President Lincoln. South Carolina had taken possession of Forts Moultrie and Castle Pinkney on the 27th of December, 1860, and on the 31st the arsenal, with 70,000 stand of arms, the Post Office and Custom House at Charleston. On the 2d of January, 1861, Forts Pulaski and Jackson, with the United States Arsenal at Savannah, were taken. On the 4th Fort Morgan, at Mobile, with the Mt. Vernon Arsenal, containing a large amount of arms and ammunition, was taken. On the 7th Fort Marion and the arsenal at St. Augustine were taken with the Chattahoochee Arsenal, containing large supplies of arms and cartridges. On the 9th the steamer *Star of the West*, with supplies for Major Anderson's command, was fired upon and compelled to retreat. On the 10th the guns and stores of the steamship *Texas* were taken. On the 11th Forts Jackson and St. Philip, on the Mississippi, near New Orleans, and Fort Pike and the arsenal at Baton Rouge were taken. On the 12th the Navy Yard and Forts Barrancas and McRea, in Florida, were taken and the revenue cutter *Lewis Cass* was seized and its armament removed. On the 20th Forts Chadbourne and Belknap were taken and occupied, with the fort at Ship Island and the United States Arsenal. On the 24th the arsenal at Augusta was taken, containing a large amount of arms and ammunition. On the 25th General Twiggs, Department Commander, surrendered his command and all his stores to the Confederacy, the stores being valued at \$1,300,000, and a large number of mounted and dismounted artillery with 35,000 muskets. On the 8th of January Forts Johnson and Caswell, in



North Carolina, were seized, but Governor Ellis ordered them to be surrendered to the United States on the condition that if any attempt should be made to reinforce them they would be occupied by State troops. On the 8th of February the arsenal at Little Rock, Arkansas, was taken, containing many cannon and a large amount of small arms and ammunition, and on the 1st of May the Mint and Custom House at New Orleans, containing some \$600,000 of specie, were taken and appropriated by the Confederacy.

Thus when Lincoln was inaugurated nearly all of the forts, arsenals, guns and munitions of war in the seceding States had been seized and held by the Confederate authorities. The forts had only nominal garrisons without anything approaching adequate protection. These forts and the vast amount of ammunition were taken without firing a gun, as the Federal forces were utterly unable to defend themselves. President Buchanan was exceedingly anxious to avoid precipitating a conflict, and therefore advised that fruitless sacrifice should not be made against overwhelming numbers.

Such was the attitude of the Southern States and their possession of military forts and munitions of war on the 4th of March, 1861. Few who have not carefully studied the controversy relating to the attitude of the seceding States, and the attitude of the Federal Government in 1860-61, can appreciate the public sentiment in the North that strengthened the cause of the South. The sentiment that aided them very greatly was not confined to those who were in sympathy with them. President Buchanan reorganized his Cabinet on patriotic lines when he found that secession had precipitated war. But he held that it was not within the power of the government to coerce the submission of the Southern States.

In Buchanan's answer to the South Carolina Commissioners on December 28, 1860, referring specially to the forts in the Charleston harbor, he expressed the hope that no attempt would be made to expel the United States from the property by force, but he added: "If in this I should prove to be mistaken, the officer in command of the forts has received orders to act strictly on the defensive." He also announced that his purpose was well known to the authorities of South Carolina, as he had publicly and freely expressed it, "not to reinforce the forts in the harbor

and thus produce collision, until they had been actually attacked, or until I had certain evidence that they were about to be attacked."

President Buchanan in his last annual message, delivered when secession was well under way, declared that the government had no power to suppress the Confederate organization. He presents the question whether "the Constitution delegated to Congress the power to coerce a State into submission which is attempting to withdraw, or has actually withdrawn, from the Confederacy," and answers it as follows: "After much serious reflection I have arrived at the conclusion that no such power has been delegated to Congress nor to any other department of the Federal Government." In this he was sustained by Attorney-General Black.

Opposition to the policy of coercion, that is the policy of suppressing the Confederate Government by force of arms, was not confined to one party. The Democrats of the North, with very rare exceptions, were vehement in their opposition to civil war to force back the seceding States, and many of the ablest Republicans were equally earnest in opposing coercion. Mr. Greeley, quite the ablest of the Republican editors, openly declared in favor of peaceable secession as preferable to civil war. Within a week after Lincoln's election he said in a leading editorial: "If the cotton States shall become satisfied that they can do better out of the Union than in it, we insist on letting them go in peace." And only a week before the inauguration of Lincoln, in another editorial, he said: "If the Slave States, Cotton States or the Gulf States only choose to form an independent nation, they have a clear oral right to do so." Mr. Chase, the ablest man in Lincoln's Cabinet, next to Seward, earnestly advocated submission to peaceable secession rather than accept civil war. The idea of civil war was appalling to the people of the North, and Mr. Lincoln scrupulously followed the policy of President Buchanan by exhaustive efforts to avoid any collision with the Southern troops. If such a collision had occurred and either Buchanan or Lincoln had been responsible for it, the sentiment in the North would have been overwhelming against thus precipitating war.

Fernando Wood, one of the ablest Democratic leaders of the North, was then Mayor of New York City, and in an official

message to the City Councils, January 6, 1861, he assumed that the Confederacy was an established fact, and suggested that New York City should "disrupt the bonds which bound her to a venal and corrupt mastery," and make herself a free and independent city with a nationality of her own.

In the South even the many Union men, with a very few exceptions, cast their lot with the Confederacy when the President called for troops to coerce submission. The North was divided with an immense preponderance of conviction, limited by no party lines, against fraternal conflict. The South thus had not only a practically solid sentiment within its own section, outside of a few border States, in support of the Confederacy, but the North was so divided in its councils that it would have been midsummer madness for the government to attempt to precipitate a bloody conflict.

President Lincoln, in his inaugural, declared distinctly against any assault by force of arms upon the South. He was in favor of maintaining the Union, but he added: "In doing this there need be no bloodshed or violence, and there shall be none unless it be forced upon the national authority. The power confided to me will be used to hold, occupy and possess the property and places belonging to the government, and to collect the duties on imports, but beyond what may be necessary for these objects, there will be no invasion, no using of force against or among the people anywhere." Remember that this was Lincoln's declaration made to the country one month after the Southern Confederacy had been established at Montgomery, and when it was in possession of nearly all the forts, arsenals and arms of the South, all of which had been taken by force.

What were the resources of the government to hold the forts and arsenals in the South, or to repossess them? The army then consisted of 18,000 men at its maximum strength, and many of these had surrendered or deserted, leaving the army roll considerably below its full complement. There were then no railroads beyond the plains east of the Rocky Mountains and the Pacific coast, and the whole frontier required strong military force to guard the few public highways and to protect the pioneers. The entire army was at that time insufficient to afford anything like reasonable protection to our Western mountain region.

On the morning after the surrender of Sumter I was sum-

moned, as chairman of the military committee of the Pennsylvania Senate, along with Governor Curtin, to confer with President Lincoln, Secretary of War Cameron and General Scott as to the legislation needed in our State that then occupied a most exposed position. It was not a difficult problem to solve, and after the routine business was ended I asked General Scott how many men he had for the defence of Washington. He answered that his force was 1,500 men and two batteries. When I asked him how many men Beauregard commanded at Charleston he answered in a tremulous voice: "General Beauregard commands more men at Charleston than I command on the continent who are available for war."

General Scott had become much alarmed about the condition of the Southern forts before the Presidential election in 1860, and on the 29th of October he addressed President Buchanan, enumerating nine of these forts which were practically ungarrisoned and exposed to capture unless they could be reinforced. A conference was held on the subject, and when the president inquired of the commanding general what force he had to strengthen the Southern garrisons, Scott's answer was that all he had within reach was one company at Boston, one at the Narrows, one at Portsmouth, one at Augusta, Ga., and one at Baton Rouge. This force did not exceed 400 men, not sufficient to protect one of the nine forts. The weakness of the army was also demonstrated when Scott and Buchanan heartily co-operated to protect President Lincoln at his inauguration ceremonies. There were whispers of assassination in the air. The Southern forts which Scott wanted to reinforce just before the election, had then been captured without firing a gun, and on the commendable pretext of making a creditable military display at the inauguration of Lincoln, all the troops which could be gathered for the occasion were brought to Washington, and the total number was 630. Buchanan knew that it was impossible to reinforce these forts, and Lincoln appreciated it just as Buchanan did.

A great nation was thus trembling in the balance for its existence, and the government authorities well understood that if they precipitated war by attacking the South for the purpose of repossessing the arsenals and forts which had been taken, the North would revolt against the proceeding and refuse support to the government in the policy of aggressive coercion. The South

was thus safe from assault for two reasons. First, because the government had no army with which to inaugurate such a war, and, second, the North was positive in its hostility to civil war unless actually and wantonly forced upon the government by the South. That had been done to an extent that would have made it the duty of the government to defend its forts and attack their assailants had there been an army equal to the duty, but neither Buchanan nor Lincoln would have been sustained in calling for an increase of the army even for the protection of government property in the South. Thus Lincoln continued the policy of Buchanan by making no war upon the Confederacy, not only because he was powerless to do so, but because the North would not have sustained him in the effort.

These preliminary statements which are essential to an intelligent understanding of the situation bring us up to the suicidal act of the Confederacy that doomed it to destruction. The first gun fired upon Sumter sounded the death knell of the Confederacy. Major Anderson with but a handful of men held Fort Sumter, while the Confederate flag floated over Fort Moultrie and Castle Pinkney, the other two forts in the harbor. General Beauregard had 8,000 men, and had planted his batteries around Sumter so that its capture was inevitable whenever he chose to open fire. Anderson saw the Confederates erect their batteries for his destruction within range of his guns, but dared not fire upon them, and thus he silently awaited the time for the preparations of the enemy to be completed when he must either surrender or sacrifice himself and his command in defence of his flag.

It was impossible to reinforce or provision Major Anderson, and yet the fact that the government had decided that it must at least attempt to provision the Sumter garrison, when both the government and the Confederacy knew that it was impossible for any vessel to approach Sumter on such a mission, was made the pretext for firing upon Anderson. The Confederate forces, while daily strengthening their position and multiplying their guns for attack, insisted that they would fire upon Sumter if any attempt was made to reinforce or provision its garrison. For the sake of peace that policy had long been maintained by Buchanan and by Lincoln, but Lincoln's first message sent to the special session of Congress, July 4, 1861, stated that "the

government regarded it as a necessity to attempt to provision the garrison at Sumter as it was then without adequate rations." Lincoln notified the Governor of South Carolina that he "might expect an attempt would be made to provision the fort, and that if the attempt should not be resisted there would be no effort to throw in men, arms or ammunition without further notice, or in case of an attack upon the fort."

It will be seen how cautious Lincoln was to avoid giving even the pretext for offence to the Confederacy, as he gave his pledge that all he had in view was to feed a starving garrison, and that if that were permitted no attempt would be made to furnish additional men or ammunition to Sumter.

Such was the condition on the 8th of April, 1861. Beauregard advised Secretary Walker that "an authorized messenger from President Lincoln has just informed Governor Pickens and myself that provisions will be sent to Fort Sumter peaceably, or otherwise by force." Numerous telegrams passed between Secretary Walker and General Beauregard, resulting in a formal demand upon Major Anderson on the 11th of April at 2 P. M. for the surrender and evacuation of Fort Sumter. Anderson answered that the demand was one "with which my sense of honor and my obligation to my government prevent my compliance." Anderson was then asked to state when he would evacuate Sumter, and on April 12 at 2.30 A. M. he replied that he would evacuate the fort at noon on the 15th should he not receive in the meantime controlling instructions from his government or additional supplies. At 3.20 of the same morning, or just fifty minutes after Anderson had proposed to surrender in less than three days, he received the following note, delivered by Captains Chestnut and Lee, who were aides to Beauregard; "By authority of Brigadier General Beauregard, commanding the provisional forces of the Confederate States, we have the honor to notify you that he will open the fire of his batteries upon Fort Sumter in one hour from this time." At the precise time indicated by the foregoing notice Beauregard's batteries, which almost encircled Sumter, belched forth their deadly missiles upon him and his starving and defenseless garrison, and hot shot was fired into his fort by which everything that was inflammable was destroyed by fire. Anderson replied with all the guns that his small force could serve, and braved the terrible fire

for thirty-four hours, when, as he reported to the government on the 18th from the steamer *Baltic*, off Sandy Hook, "the quarters were entirely burnt, the main gates destroyed by fire, the gorge walls seriously injured, magazine surrounded by flames and its doors closed from the effects of heat, four barrels and three cartridges of powder only being available, and no provisions remaining but pork. I accepted terms of evacuation offered by General Beauregard."

The secessionists of the South were wildly enthused over the capture of Sumter. President Davis and other prominent officials were serenaded and delivered fervent congratulatory addresses. War Minister Walker, who issued the order for firing upon Sumter, received a grand ovation in Montgomery, and in his speech he predicted that the Confederate flag "will, before the 1st of May, float over the dome of the old capitol at Washington, and if they choose to try Southern chivalry and test the extent of Southern resources, it will eventually float over Faneuil Hall in Boston."

It seems incomprehensible, viewed in the light of the present, that the Confederate government, then safely organized and practically undisputed in its authority throughout the seceding States, should have precipitated war by firing upon a feeble and starving garrison, whose surrender was promised within two and one-half days, solely because President Lincoln had ordered an expedition only to give provisions to the troops, with official notice to the Governor of South Carolina that if the provisioning of the garrison was permitted there would be no attempt made to reinforce Sumter with troops. Had there been even the semblance of provocation by an attempt of the government to reinforce Sumter with troops there would have been the shadow of excuse for firing upon the fort, but there was no attempt to strengthen the resources of the fort for defense, and the assault was simply unmingled madness that made the Southern Confederacy a colossal suicide.

While the tidal wave of unbridled sectional passion was sweeping the South with wild huzzahs over the victory won by 8,000 organized troops with a cordon of batteries encircling the fort that was captured, whose garrison was but a starving handful in number, the people of the North were suddenly aroused as if a thunderbolt had come from an unclouded sky. The issue

of coercion was effaced by the quickened patriotism and fierce resentment of the Northern people which gathered anti-coercionists and quibblers of every grade into the resistless demand for a war that swept the land from the Eastern to the Western sea. In a single day the overwhelming sentiment of the North against coercion was changed into the imperious decree for the overthrow of the secession oligarchy.

The day after the surrender of Sumter—April 15, 1861,—President Lincoln issued his call for 75,000 troops to suppress rebellion and cause the laws to be executed. While the Southern and border states refused to fill the requisition made by the President, the North tendered more troops within twenty-four hours after the call than could be accepted, and every State asked permission to increase its quota. The North had been goaded beyond the last point of forbearance by the assault upon Sumter, and a million of soldiers were offered the President to suppress the rebellion and overthrow the Confederate government.

The Southern Confederacy was in full and complete operation. Its authority was practically undisputed in all the Southern States which had formally accepted secession. It held possession of all the important forts and arsenals in the South excepting those of Fortress Monroe and Pensacola, and they were no menace to the authority of the new government. President Lincoln had no army with which to invade the South for the recovery of the forts and government property, and if he had possessed ample men for the purpose he would not have been sustained in the effort.

He was utterly powerless to interfere with the Southern Confederacy. Had he called for additional troops it would have been resented by the South as a menace, and by the North as precipitating a war that they most earnestly desired to avoid. He was thus entirely without resources to interfere in any material way with the authority and operations of the Confederate Government. He knew that for him to be in any degree responsible for forcing fraternal conflict between the North and South would be his death knell and the probable overthrow of the Union. He knew that Congress could not aid him, and he had not summoned Congress into extraordinary session until after the Southern Government had fired upon Sumter in de-



fiance of every possible effort on the part of the government to maintain peace.

Being utterly helpless and hopeless in his desire to restore the Union, President Lincoln was compelled to sit in silence for nearly six weeks after his inauguration and witness the authority of the government openly and successfully defied by a secession government in the entire South. The condition must have continued indefinitely had not the South precipitated war by attacking a feeble and starving garrison that was on the verge of surrendering. The Confederacy thus unopposed would have strengthened itself not only among its own people, but it would have as steadily strengthened the conviction in the North that the dismemberment of the Union was an accomplished and irrevocable fact.

No dominant sentiment in the North demanded the overthrow of the Confederacy by force of arms until after the firing upon Sumter. The great governments of the world, most of whom sympathized strongly with the South, would have speedily noted the utter inability of the government to suppress the rebellion, and instead of recognizing the Southern Confederacy as a belligerent power, as they promptly did, in a very few months it would have been acknowledged by foreign nations as an established government entitled to recognition as a national authority. There could have been no other result had the South been content to enjoy the triumphs it had achieved and administered its government without aggressive assault upon the flag of the Union, and there would have been no excuse for foreign governments withholding such recognition, as even the few forts in the South held by the Union troops were not permitted to fire a hostile gun against the Confederate Government unless directly assailed by the military power of the Confederacy.

The Confederacy was in fact established; there was no threat on the part of the government to overthrow it with military force. On the contrary, the assurance came from the government under all circumstances that peace would be maintained, and none thought of summoning troops from the North to resist the revolutionary movement that was in full operation and had possession of nearly all the forts, arsenals and government property in the South. It had only to be content to win foreign recognition in a very few months, and that would have made the

destruction of the Confederacy impossible by appeal to the sword. If they had not fired upon Sumter, the Southern Confederacy would have been successfully established and without civil war.

Some ten years after the war I spent a day with Jefferson Davis at his beautiful home on the gulf, near Mississippi City. He received me with generous hospitality and conversed freely on all questions relating to the war. When I asked him why he had opened fire upon Fort Sumter when he had the assurance of the surrender of the garrison within three days if not reinforced or provisioned, when he knew that it was not within the power of the government to afford such relief to Major Anderson, he justified the firing upon Sumter on the ground that the government had violated its faith with the Confederate government; that the assurance had been given that the conditions in the Charleston harbor should remain *in statu quo*, and that finally notice was given by the government that an expedition was to be sent for the purpose of provisioning and probably reinforcing the garrison.

I asked him whether the firing upon Sumter was not in some measure inspired by the purpose of enthusing and crystallizing the Southern people in support of the Confederacy, and he answered with emphasis that no such thing was thought of, and that it was not in any degree necessary. He seemed startled when I told him that the firing upon Sumter sounded the doom of the Confederacy, and that the North would never have been united to wage successful war against the South but for that assault that was not dictated by any necessity of diplomacy or war. He admitted that the North may have been inflamed to measurable unity against the South by the firing upon Sumter, and that the North might not have been in position to wage a great war upon the South had that provocation not been given, but he stood resolutely on the question of punctilio, and excused the assault on the ground of violated faith.

Such is the story in brief of the first assault upon the Union flag and its defenders by the troops of the Confederacy, and that assault destined the Confederacy to an utterly hopeless conflict that overthrew it with its land crimsoned by the blood of its heroic people and the pall of desolation spread over its entire country.

## THE ERAS OF GOOD FEELING AND OF CONVULSION.

Two great epochs in the history of the republic stand out in the sharpest contrast on the annals of our free government. They are the "Era of Good Feeling" that came to bless the administration of President Monroe, by which he was re-elected in 1820 by a practically unanimous vote, lacking only one vote in the Electoral College to equal the unity that was exhibited in electing and re-electing Washington. This era is referred to by all political historians as a serene political calm unknown in our political history either before or since. Monroe closed his second administration without aggressive or organized opposition, and as most of his Cabinet officers were candidates for the succession, he was not personally involved in the conflict and thereby escaped the embittered political criticisms which the national contest of 1824 developed.

The other epoch was an era of convulsive hate, beginning with the assassination of Lincoln and practically ending with the impeachment of President Johnson, and it stands entirely without parallel in the history of the Republic. It was an era of unbridled passion, of fiercest sectional, partisan and individual conflicts, and presents the only severely tempestuous record of all the national administrations we have had. The assassination of Lincoln that flung the North into the maelstrom of frenzy, was quickly followed by the military-court murder of Mrs. Surratt, and a flood tide of hate that convulsed the country from centre to circumference, in which President Johnson himself was the central and inspiring figure. This painful era practically ended in the impeachment of Johnson and the election of Grant, who gave to both sections of the country, in accepting the nomination for the Presidency, the words for which all most hungered: "Let us have peace."

It is difficult for any one, however intelligent or fair-minded,

who earnestly participated in the political struggles from 1864 to 1869, to hold the pen in the strict lines of impartial history. Remembering my strong prejudices against Johnson, for whom I had voted to make him the candidate for Vice-President in the Baltimore convention of 1864, and my tireless antagonism against his policy and administration, I write this chapter with some hesitation, but looking over the dark annals of our country written by the Johnson administration with every purpose to be generously just to the Presidency, I feel entirely warranted in saying that President Johnson was primarily and almost wholly responsible for the terrible era of convulsive hate that came with his administration and that lingered in its bitter fruits for years after his retirement.

President Johnson on many occasions exhibited the qualities of the demagogue when he pleaded his plebeian birth as a virtue in all his political conflicts, and the fact that it was cultivated as one of his carefully studied political methods was pointedly exhibited when he was inaugurated as Vice President. It is well known that he was not responsible for his utterances on that occasion because he was in delirium from the use of stimulants taken to strengthen him for the ordeal after protracted illness, but when his better judgment was thus unbalanced and his impulses spoke with unrestrained freedom, he mocked the dignity and solemnity of the occasion by hurling his plebeian birth into the faces of the foreign diplomatic corps in reckless insult. He entered the Presidency through the scalding tears of the nation over the bier of Lincoln, and he at once exhibited the most vindictive resentment against the South. He was nothing if not tempestuous, and his tongue wagged on every possible occasion to express his purpose to punish treason to the uttermost. In this attitude he went beyond even the extreme radicals of the Republican party, while the conservative Republicans were appalled at the flood tide of hate that the President poured out upon the country entirely effacing the hope of sectional tranquillity.

Had the President maintained the policy with which he started out it would doubtless have been much better for the South and for the country. His extreme views could not have prevailed, and his policy would have been greatly tempered by the conservative Republican elements had he maintained his relations

with the party that elected him; but, during the summer, when Congress was not in session, the policy of President Johnson was entirely changed. He conceived the theory of reconstructing the Southern States by Executive authority on a plan entirely his own that he ever after spoke of in public and private as "my policy." He gradually became not only estranged from the radical Republican element with whom he had acted at first, but also estranged from even the most conservative Republican views, and when Congress met in December he was practically at war with the entire Republican party. A very few Republican Senators and Representatives followed him, and thereby severed their connection with the Republicans, but the party organization in both branches of Congress became crystallized in positive and aggressive hostility to the reconstruction policy of the administration.

Had President Lincoln lived to accomplish reconstruction it is not doubted by any who intelligently study the history of that period that he would have been at war with the extreme radical Republicans, and reconstruction would have been accomplished by the administration, aided by the conservative Democrats against the radicals of both parties. Lincoln's great desire was to bring about the restoration of the Southern States in not only nominal but actual and sympathetic fellowship. He had little opportunity to express his views as to the proper method of reconstruction, but fortunately we are not left without unerring finger-boards furnished by himself indicating that his policy would have been on the most generous lines possible with public safety. At the City Point conference between Lincoln, Grant, Sherman and Porter he instructed General Sherman that on his return to his command in North Carolina he should assure Governor Vance that he as Governor, and his Legislature, could resume their official functions, and would be protected in doing so, if they did not violate the policy of the Federal government until the meeting of Congress. It was this assurance from President Lincoln himself that shaped the original terms on which General Johnston surrendered all of the Confederate forces then in the field to Sherman. But Lincoln had been assassinated, new conditions with intensely flamed passions had been precipitated, and the Sherman terms of surrender were rejected in brutal language by Secretary Stanton.

Had Lincoln lived to consummate reconstruction, universal negro suffrage would never have written its blotted records in the reconstructed States.

President Johnson's first proclaimed reconstruction policy meant the severest punishment of all the leading Confederates, the confiscation of their property, and that the Southern people be reduced to the condition of conquered subjects. When he changed his reconstruction policy he was largely influenced by the court paid to him by the gentler class of the South that had never before accorded to Johnson the social recognition he craved. As they gradually came into his confidence he was flattered and strangely misled into a policy of reconstruction that ordinary intelligence should have made him understand was an utter impossibility. Without waiting for Congress to act, he assumed the responsibility of appointing provisional Governors in the Southern States, authorizing the election of Legislatures, Senators and Congressmen, and confidently expected that when Congress met in December these reconstructed State governments would be recognized and their Senators and Congressmen admitted.

Had these provisional governments been ordinarily prudent they might have strengthened Johnson to make a desperate battle for his cause, but unfortunately, under promises from the President, the Southern people naturally struggled to relieve themselves of the logical consequences of war, and to remand the negroes back into a slavery worse than that from which they had been disenthralled. The black man, while his freedom was admitted in most of these States, was denied the most vital rights of citizenship. He was denied the right to sue, to make contracts, to testify in court, and was thus made entirely dependent upon the whites, who could make him a vagrant by refusing him employment, and then sell him into slavery as a vagrant, where he was as much a slave as he had ever been under the institution of slavery, without the master's interest in his person as property. The result was that when Congress met in December neither House entertained for a moment the question of recognizing these reconstructed States, or admitting their Representatives, and thus the battle began between Congress and the President.

Had President Johnson yielded as Grant did whenever he

saw it impracticable to proceed, the South would have escaped the oppressive reconstruction policy that was finally established in a tempest of sectional hate. But Johnson would yield nothing. He made himself ostentatiously offensive to Congress and to the loyal sentiment of the nation, and the result was a chasm between the President and Congress that was utterly impassable, and Congress, in the passion of the time, was self-excused for establishing universal negro suffrage because it was held to be the only safety for the freedom of the slaves who had been emancipated. Every reconstruction measure was passed by a two-thirds vote in both branches over the President's veto, and the rule of the ignorant freedmen under the lead of generally disreputable carpet-baggers and scallywags, wrote the most blistering records of infamy in the Southern States which are to be found in American history. Had Johnson been disposed to harmonize with Congress he could have conserved Congressional action and accomplished a reconstruction policy, such as Mr. Lincoln would have enforced had his life been spared.

The bitter feud between the President and Congress grew in proportions from day to day until his impeachment. Congress took from him every possible power that was not expressly conferred upon the Executive by the Constitution. His right of removal from office was withheld from him, and he was stripped of every authority that could be taken with the semblance of constitutional approval.

The impeachment of President Johnson was contemplated by many of the more radical Republicans from the beginning of the acute stage of the dispute between him and Congress. On the 17th of December, 1866, Mr. Ashley, of Ohio, introduced a resolution authorizing the appointment of a select committee to inquire "whether any acts have been done by any officer of the Government of the United States, which, in contemplation of the Constitution, are high crimes and misdemeanors." This resolution failed for want of the necessary two-thirds vote, although a decided majority supported it. On the 7th of January, 1867, Representatives Loan and Kelso, of Missouri, offered resolutions looking to the impeachment of the Executive, which resolutions were referred to the judiciary committee. On the 28th of February a majority of the judiciary committee reported that they had taken testimony on the subject, and re-

gretted their inability to dispose of it definitely, and thus left the unfinished labors to the succeeding Congress.

On the 8th of March, 1867, in the new Congress, Mr. Ashley proposed that the judiciary committee continue the investigation, and his proposition was agreed to, and on the 25th of November of the same year three reports were presented to Congress, one majority report and two minority reports. The majority recommended the impeachment of the President, and the two minority reports declared against any further proceedings. On the 6th of December the reports were discussed in the House, and on the 7th the vote was taken, being 109 against impeachment and 56 for it. On the 4th of February, 1868, the correspondence between President Johnson and General Grant in relation to the surrender of the War Office was referred to the reconstruction committee that examined witnesses, and on the 13th of February decided against pressing articles of impeachment. On the 21st of February the President removed Secretary Stanton from the War Office in disregard of the tenure of office law, and on the same day the House voted on the impeachment of President Johnson for high crimes and misdemeanors, and it was adopted by a vote of 126 to 47.

The Republicans in both the Senate and House had been so compactly organized against the President that the more radical leaders felt entirely assured of their power to remove President Johnson by impeachment. As I have said, it had been contemplated for two years before it was accomplished, and the radical element had fully prepared for the emergency they expected as inevitable. But for this obviously settled purpose of the radicals to find some pretext for impeaching the President in order to get possession of the power of the government, it is quite possible, indeed even probable, that the President would have been dismissed from office after his removal of Stanton, as it was in flagrant violation of the tenure-of-office bill that had been supported by every Republican Senator who voted against the conviction of the President.

The entering wedge for the division of the Republican forces that led to the acquittal of Johnson was the election of Senator Wade as President *pro tem* of the Senate. He had no fitness for the duties of a presiding officer. He had neither tact nor gentleness of disposition to make it pleasant to have him pre-



side over the first legislative tribunal of the nation. He was extremely radical, blunt and brusque in expression, never conciliatory, and was eminently successful in intensifying the bitterness of his enemies. The Senator regarded as best fitted and also best entitled to the distinction of President *pro tem* of the Senate, and also best fitted for the responsible duties of the President in case President Johnson should be impeached, was Senator Fessenden, of Maine. He was one of the ablest of the body; blameless in public and private life, thoroughly conscientious in the discharge of all duties, and ever courteous in his intercourse with others. He was fairly entitled to be President *pro tem* of the Senate alike in character, temperament and experience, but the election of Wade was forced by the radical element of the body solely for the purpose of making Wade the successor of Johnson in the Presidency. The success of Wade and the defeat of Fessenden greatly chilled the ardor of men like Trumbull, Fessenden, Grimes and other Republican leaders, and they felt when the impeachment issue came that, however Johnson may have violated a statute of questionable constitutionality, it would be better to suffer the evils of Johnson's administration than to inaugurate an aggressive and vindictive policy under President Wade.

The dissatisfaction with Wade's election for the sole purpose of making him President and inaugurating an extreme radical and factional policy, profoundly impressed the leading Senators, who finally voted against impeachment. They gave no sign of their purpose, and the impeachment proceeding dragged its slow length along without a suspicion on the part of the Republican leaders that conviction could possibly be defeated. The Senate was composed of 42 Republicans and 12 Democrats, and as none of the prominent Republican Senators had publicly shown a disposition to rebel against the radical Republican rule, the conviction of Johnson was regarded by Congress and by the country as inevitable whenever the House passed the impeachment resolution.

It was not until the high court of impeachment had been in session some time that it was discovered that Chief Justice Chase was determined to rule entirely independently of the wishes and necessities of the friends of conviction, and while not a word was uttered by any of the Senators who voted

against conviction to indicate their purpose, it soon became whispered that there was some danger of a revolt in the highest circles of Republican authority. I remember calling upon President *pro tem* Wade in his luxuriant Vice-President's rooms when the impeachment trial had been in progress for probably two weeks, and when the first shadow of doubt was visible as to the result. Wade was violent in his denunciation of the Chief Justice for his ruling, and of the attitude assumed by several of the leading Senators. While I was in conversation with Wade, Thaddeus Stevens entered the room. He was very feeble and unable to take active part as one of the counsel charged by the House to conduct the impeachment trial. He was in hearty sympathy with Wade and a radical of the radicals. After discussing the situation, in which for the first time I heard him express some doubts as to the results, he summed up the situation by saying: "This is the meanest trial, before the meanest tribunal, and on the meanest subject of history." As the trial progressed suspicion as to the attitude of some of the leading Senators became more and more pronounced, but it was not until the final vote was taken that the radical element of the Senate believed the acquittal of Johnson to be probable.

Senator Wade was doomed to a double defeat, both most humiliating, by the result of the impeachment trial. Had Johnson been convicted, as was generally expected, Wade would have been President for eight months, and he would have promptly changed the whole policy and public officials of the government. He had been defeated for election to the Senate the preceding January, and he became a candidate for Vice-President, expecting on the 4th of March following the impeachment trial to be transferred from the White House to the Vice-Presidency. The fact that he was expected to be President for eight months, and that he was known to be one who would exhaust the power of the government to maintain the party organization, had made him a very formidable candidate for the Vice Presidency. He was strong in himself, as he had many followers, and the fact that he was expected to be President and wield the power of the government for eight months was strongly persuasive with very many of the delegates to the national convention, and he would certainly have been nominated for Vice-President instead of Mr. Colfax if Johnson had been convicted. The dele-

gates to national conventions in those days, as in these later days, had a wholesome regard for power and its spoils, but on Saturday before the convention met in Chicago the lightning flashed the news that Johnson had been acquitted, and that doomed Wade to defeat before the national convention as a candidate for Vice-President. Thus within a week he suffered the humiliating discomfiture of losing the Presidency that he believed entirely within his grasp and also losing the Vice-Presidential nomination that would have assured an election.

It required a two-thirds vote to convict the President in an impeachment trial, and on May 16, 1868, a separate vote was taken in the Senate on three articles impeaching the President, resulting in each case in 35 Senators voting for conviction and 19 for acquittal. Only Republican Senators voted for conviction, but Fessenden, of Maine; Fowler, of Tennessee; Grimes, of Iowa; Henderson, of Missouri; Ross, of Kansas; Trumbull, of Illinois, and Van Winkle, of West Virginia, seven in all, voted with the Democrats for acquittal. Had any one of these seven voted for conviction Johnson would have been convicted and dismissed from office, and Wade would have succeeded him to the Presidency. It is worthy of note that the Republicans who voted for the acquittal of Johnson represented more than the average intellectual force of the body. Trumbull was accepted by all as the ablest lawyer of the Senate. Fessenden, Grimes and Henderson were among the ablest of the Republican leaders, while Fowler, Van Winkle and Ross commanded universal respect for their personal integrity.

I was of those who believed at the time that Johnson should be convicted and dismissed from office, but there are very few among those who look upon public incidents of the past with the intelligent impartiality that is due to all historical events, who do not agree with me now that the conviction of Johnson would have been a national misfortune. He had bereft the great office of much of its dignity and honor. He had been guilty of violent usurpation of authority, and he seemed to be ruled by passion rather than patriotism in fighting the great battle by which he hoped to elect himself to the Presidency, but looking over that great conflict with its passions perished, I believe that it was most fortunate for the country that it was not precipitated into the violent radical revolution that would have inevi-

tably followed the succession of Wade to the Presidency. I was at the Chicago convention as chairman of the Pennsylvania delegation, and saw the general disappointment, with which I sympathized, because of the failure to convict President Johnson. General Palmer, of Illinois, who was then the Republican nominee for Governor of the State, was called out in the preliminary proceedings for a short address, and in that he pointedly criticised the failure of the impeachment trial, but the friends of all the other candidates for Vice-President were delighted that Wade had been removed from the certainty of a nomination by his defeat in attempting to reach the Presidency, and while there was a very general regret that Johnson had not been removed, the lack of intensity of feeling on the subject was exhibited by the failure of the convention to nominate Wade to the second place on the ticket. Had the delegates sincerely felt that the failure of impeachment was a wrong to the country and to Wade he would certainly have been vindicated by his nomination for the Vice-Presidency, but the judgment of the high court of impeachment was accepted with more or less sincere and earnest expressions of regret, and Wade, who had fallen on the battlements of the conflict, was consigned to retirement.

Soon after a committee of the convention that had nominated Grant by a unanimous vote, formally notified him of his selection as the Republican candidate for the Presidency, and then in the convulsive conflicts of sectional and partisan passion Grant uttered the memorable sentence that tranquillized untold thousands North and South—"Let us have peace." There were conflicts and continued desolation in the reconstructed States for a few years thereafter, but with the defeat of impeachment, the nomination of Grant and his patriotic utterance in favor of peace, the era of convulsive hate was halted, and the full fruition came later when the carpet-bag rule that was the creation of this era, perished from the earth.

## THE PACIFIC RAILWAY AND THE SALE OF CHIHUAHUA.

There are many unwritten chapters of inner story especially relating to our great civil war which will never be crystallized into history. Some of them are hopelessly lost by the death of those who alone could write them correctly. These incidents, many of which would be of thrilling interest, could not be written during the lives of the chief actors, and cannot justly be written now; and those which exist only in tradition cannot be accepted as part of the true history of the greatest conflict that ever was witnessed for the maintenance of free institutions.

There are few of even our most intelligent and best read citizens who know the true history of the transcontinental railway. The first declaration made by any party in favor of the construction of the Pacific railway was delivered by the Republican National Convention of 1856, which met in Philadelphia on the 17th of June. It was a Fremont convention, and it was confidently expected to carry California for the Republican ticket by a positive declaration in favor of the construction of the Pacific railway by the National Government. The platform declared that "a railroad to the Pacific Ocean, by the most central and practicable route, is imperatively demanded by the interests of the whole Government, and that the Federal Government ought to render immediate and efficient aid in its construction." In addition to this the same resolution demanded "the immediate construction of an emigrant route on the line of the railway."

The Democratic convention of the same year, which met at Cincinnati and nominated Buchanan for President, well understood that the Republicans expected to strengthen themselves, especially in the Western States, by a distinct declaration in favor of the Government constructing a Pacific railway, and while that party fundamentally denied the power of the Government to charter or aid banks, railroads or any other corpora-

tions, the Democrats hedged on the issue by declaring in their platform that they recognized "the great importance in the political and commercial point of view of safe and speedy communication by military and postal routes through our own territory between the Atlantic and Pacific coasts of this Union, and that it is the duty of the Federal Government to exercise promptly all its constitutional power for the attainment of that object." This deliverance was practically a denial of the aid of the Government to the construction of the transcontinental railway, as the Democracy distinctly denied the constitutional power of the Government to engage in such enterprises.

The construction of the Pacific railway in 1856 was regarded by all as a dream that might in the fullness of time, and many years hence, reach fruition. The entire revenues of the Government did not exceed \$50,000,000 a year, and none of our leading statesmen would have ventured at that time to put upon the Government the severe strain of financing the Pacific railway. It was simply political expediency for the time anticipating what progressive men hoped might be accomplished in the distant future. It is entirely safe to say that the deliverances of both the Democratic and the Republican party in 1856 on the issue of the Pacific railway were mere political expedients. The Republicans, being more liberal in their construction of the fundamental law, could afford to promise a Pacific railway in unqualified terms, and the Democrats, unwilling to be regarded as wanting in interest in the people of the Pacific slope, gave a meaningless declaration qualified by well known Democratic severe constitutional construction.

In 1860 the question of the Pacific railway assumed an entirely different phase. The question of the disruption of the Union was squarely face to face with the Republicans who met in Chicago to nominate Abraham Lincoln for the Presidency, and the question of Western empire, as cherished by many leading men, was then more than an open secret. Indeed, it was a very grave issue, and it became a necessity for the Republicans to hold the Pacific region to loyalty by the positive pledge that the Government should aid the immediate construction of the Pacific railway. Indeed, it was not doubted by many of the most intelligent observers of the political situation in 1860 that the Pacific region could be held to the Union in the event of the Southern

States seceding, only by the assurance that this great transcontinental highway would be constructed. The Democratic platform of 1860 was practically a repetition of the evasive deliverance of 1856, as it promised to the people of the Pacific States only "such constitutional Government aid as will insure the construction of a railroad to the Pacific coast at the earliest practicable period." This was the declaration of the Douglas convention. The Breckinridge convention reaffirmed the same plank and added to it the pledge of the party "to use every means in their power to secure the passage of some bill to the extent of the constitutional authority of Congress for the construction of the Pacific railway."

It will be seen that both the Democratic conventions of 1860 limited the aid of the Government to the Pacific railway to the Constitutional authority of the Government when the party had, ever since the adoption of the resolutions of '98, uniformly declared against the power of the Government to become connected in any way with banking, railway or other corporations. The two great parties of the country thus entered the contest of 1860 with the Republicans unqualifiedly pledged to the construction of the Pacific railway by the Government, and the Democrats pledged only to aid such enterprise as far as the Constitutional power would warrant, while every platform of the party had denied the existence of any such Constitutional authority. It was this attitude of the Republican party that made California and Oregon give their virgin Republican votes, and it was the confidence of the people of the Pacific States in the early construction of the transcontinental highway that not only made those States Republican, but entirely destroyed the hope of independent empire.

The promise made was long delayed in its fulfilment, but the plighted faith of the party was fulfilled as speedily as was at all possible. The first proposition adopted by Congress made an appropriation of some \$12,000 to \$48,000 a mile, for which Government bonds were to be issued, and for which the Government was to take the first mortgage on the line, allowing the builders to add additional mortgages as might be deemed necessary. Earnest efforts were made to financier the enterprise on this basis, but they utterly failed, and the Government was finally compelled to make the same appropriation to the Pacific road

and take a second mortgage for its advancement, allowing the builders to raise a like sum of money by a first mortgage. Even then it was difficult to command the capital for the construction of this great highway. The bankers and other money men of the country would take the Government bonds, but did not welcome the first mortgage bonds and other securities of the corporation, and those who finally succeeded in constructing the great transcontinental railway were men whose energy and progressive qualities exceeded their capital, and who suffered many disappointments and sickening anxiety for years in consummating their great work. In the end they all made fortunes, but most of them received little credit and much censure for their success and the use they made of it.

The names of Huntingdon, Stanford, Crocker and Hopkins were comparatively unknown in money circles of the West when they undertook the appalling task of constructing the new Pacific railway from San Francisco to the Salt Lake Valley. It is impossible in these days of convenient and rapid communication with every part of the country and the world to appreciate the difficulties which confronted these progressive men. While those who constructed the Union Pacific from the Father of Waters to Salt Lake Valley had every facility for transporting their materials, the California pioneers in railway progress were compelled to ship all the materials and machinery they used around Cape Horn to the Pacific coast. They had a long and fearful struggle against bankruptcy, but finally succeeded, only to meet organized political opposition to the policy they adopted for the purpose of remunerating themselves. California has been convulsed in her political conflicts by the war against these railway magnates, and strange political revolutions have been wrought on the issue. Even to this day political contests are often controlled by a tidal wave of hostility to the men who created this great artery of commerce and trade.

The men who constructed the Eastern or Union Pacific railway were, as a rule, little known in the financial circles of our great cities. Oakes Ames, one of the very few men who had the courage to shoulder the colossal enterprise, won fortune and defamation as his reward, as the scandals of the Credit Mobilier abundantly testify. Since then, with the aid of liberal land grants, four great trunk lines have been constructed over the



Rocky Mountains and the Sierras, and their tributary lines extend into all the centres of industry in that region. One who crossed the Rocky range, as I did, at four different passes a generation ago, when the rude song of the iron horse had never been heard by the few pioneers and dusky sons of the forest, can well understand the colossal character of the enterprise that constructed the transcontinental railway; and Jay Cook, who did more to aid the progress and development of the country than any man now living, could tell the story of the desperate struggle required to construct the Northern Pacific, which has time and again practically fallen into bankruptcy, but which today, although immensely capitalized, commands par for its common shares on the stock market.

Lower California at one time gave promise of playing an important part in precipitating relations between the United States and Mexico, which might have created a new factor in hastening the retreat of the French army from Mexico and the overthrow of Maximilian. In the winter of 1864-5, when it was well known that the military power of the Confederacy was on the verge of complete destruction, Juarez had been driven by Maximilian to the extreme northern portion of Mexico in Chihuahua, where he could make his escape into the United States if it should become necessary. Maximilian had entered Mexico, protected by the French army, during the summer of 1864, and the armies of Juarez had been defeated and driven from their battlefields by overwhelming numbers.

Our Government never recognized the empire of Maximilian, but recognized the almost banished full-blooded Indian President who was driven to the remote borders of the Republic. The power of Maximilian seemed to be fully and permanently established, and he doubtless would have been successful but for the failure of the Confederacy. President Lincoln had but one answer to the proposition of resenting the violation of the openly declared and uniformly maintained policy of our Government to prevent any foreign Power from establishing its authority by conquest in the Western Continent. Under ordinary conditions it would have been his duty to declare war against France for overthrowing by military power the sister Republic of Mexico, but flagrant as was the affront given by France, Lincoln's answer was: "One war at a time for the present." He realized the

inability of our Government to accept a war with France that might have been extended even to England by England's recognition of the Confederacy, and he was compelled to submit in silence to this despotic intervention of Napoleon III to overthrow the Monroe doctrine by the establishment of the Mexican empire.

Some time in the latter part of 1864 or in the early part of 1865 I was one of a party that met a dozen times or more in New York City to consider the proposition, which came from President Juarez through John Anderson, a great tobacco man and multi-millionaire, to transfer to an organized association of Americans the entire possession of Lower California, reserving to the Mexican Government only its sovereignty over that State. The men most prominently engaged in the enterprise with Mr. Anderson were Caleb Cushing, Benjamin F. Butler, Governor Curtin, Thomas A. Scott and several others of less prominence.

At the time of the first meeting of these gentlemen Governor Curtin and I dined at Mr. Anderson's on Sunday, and there met a veteran Mexican general who was in personal charge of the wife and family of President Juarez. The Mexican President had sent his wife and children to New York for safety, and they were in the care of this old soldier, who had served with distinction with Juarez in many of his battles, and was intrusted with the safety of his household gods. Juarez then regarded it as quite probable that he would soon be compelled to take refuge in the United States. With the exception of Chihuahua, the Maximilian empire had absolute authority throughout all the States and provinces of Mexico, and he was exceedingly anxious to enlist the business interests of a powerful American association by ceding to it the entire Government property and rights in Lower California, reserving only the sovereignty. He reasoned soundly on the subject, for any act of his Government would be accepted by the United States as the act of the recognized Government of the Republic of Mexico, and interference by Maximilian with the rights of Americans in Lower California which had been granted by President Juarez would summon the power of our Government to the support of American interests. This would not have been practicable but for the fact that the overthrow of the military power of the Confederacy was certain to be accomplished in the very near future, and the ex-

pectation was that, with our civil war ended, the veterans of both the blue and the gray would be glad to unite in a war with France for the overthrow of Maximilian and his empire, and for the re-establishment of the Monroe doctrine.

This great enterprise had been very thoroughly considered by the prominent men engaged in it. Mr. Anderson was one of the most progressive men of his day, and was one of the comparatively few multi-millionaires of that time. He was a born revolutionist, and loved adventure. He was the sole architect of his own fortune that he made out of his immense tobacco trade, and was a warm friend and supporter of Kossuth in his revolutionary struggles. At the dinner I have referred to he told an interesting incident that occurred when Kossuth was at the height of his revolutionary movements. Mr. Anderson spoke fluently almost every language, and had important business relations at times with the Rothschilds. He told how, on entering the reception room in the Rothschilds' house, he overheard two of the members of the firm discussing very excitedly in some foreign language, that Anderson well understood, the danger of Kossuth capturing a large amount of specie that was at some point on the line of his march; and the particular point was stated in the conversation. Suddenly the excited discussion halted as Anderson was observed, and one of the men engaged in it came up to him and addressed him in the same language, to which Anderson replied: "Beg pardon, but I speak English," and he then addressed him in English, evidently delighted that Anderson had not understood the conversation, if he even had overheard it. Anderson transacted his business promptly and spent a large sum of money to express to Kossuth the location and amount of money that might be captured. As a result Kossuth made a forced march and became the possessor of the treasure.

The possession of Southern California was the conception of Anderson, and he was a warm friend of Juarez. He was then aiding not only in protecting, but in providing for the family of the Mexican President. He was easily successful in making Juarez understand that in no way could he better strengthen his power than by making the concession to a powerful American association. He first submitted it to Caleb Cushing, who was then, as he continued until his death, a recognized authority on

international law. He was not only the legal adviser of the Government before the civil war, but during all the severe diplomatic trials of our fraternal conflict he was the accepted authority of the Government in meeting all emergencies, and he continued to be the legal adviser under all administrations until his great life ended. He gave the matter very careful consideration and became much enthused in the scheme. General Butler, Colonel Scott, Governor Curtin and others were conferred with, and united in the enterprise. Through the kindness of Curtin and Scott I was asked to join the movement, and was present at all the meetings held.

Soon after this organization was accomplished the surrender of the Confederate armies of Lee and Johnston practically ended the civil war, and it was well understood that the close of our fraternal conflict would compel France to withdraw from Mexico and restore President Juarez to the supreme authority as the head of the Republic of Mexico. But this sudden change of the situation did not in any degree affect the attitude of Juarez toward the American association. He had given his pledge to cede Lower California to the Americans named upon conditions which at the time were regarded as entirely acceptable. It was believed by the leading men in the movement that it was a most promising speculation of immense proportions, and many months were devoted to careful study of the climate and resources of Lower California, and of the best methods of accomplishing colonization to that region on a large scale. The information given from time to time as to the resources of the country and the probability of successful colonization did not meet the expectations of those who had the movement in charge, and after having given more than a year of effort to organize the enterprise in all details, it was finally voluntarily abandoned.

It was known that Maximilian would be powerless to interfere with the American possession of Lower California; the great purpose that Juarez had in view practically failed by the sudden change of events in Mexico, and the American association finally decided that the large expenditure involved and the risk as to probable profits did not warrant them in carrying the proposition to its consummation. Had they taken possession of Lower California as Juarez agreed to cede it to them, at any time in the latter part of 1864 or the early part of 1865, they

would have come in direct conflict with the Maximilian empire, and the issue would have been sharply defined between this Government and the Emperor; but the changed conditions made the proposed cessation of Lower California without special interest to Juarez, and the only question then to be considered was whether the enterprise would be a profitable one. I well remember the last meeting held at the St. Nicholas Hotel, in New York, when Mr. Cushing went over the whole scheme in all its details, and advised against its further prosecution. The service expected to be rendered to Juarez had already been rendered to him by decisive events over which the American association had no control and those best informed on the subject decided against continuing the enterprise as a mere speculation, although at first they believed it promised profits that could be estimated in the millions.

Thus an American association, embracing some of the most distinguished men of the country, failed to become the owners of a great State within the present Republic of Mexico; and soon after the enterprise was abandoned Maximilian and two of his generals were executed by the order of Juarez, and "Poor Charlotte," then the queen of beauty, hospitality and philanthropy in Mexico, left her throne in the palace of Montezuma to plead her cause vainly before Napoleon and the Pope, and thence to enter an asylum of the insane, where to this day she has lived in the starless midnight of dethroned reason.

## FILLMORE, PIERCE, BUCHANAN, LINCOLN AND JOHNSON IN THE WHITE HOUSE.

My first visit to the White House was just fifty years ago, in 1851, when Millard Fillmore was President. I had been at the Philadelphia convention that nominated Taylor and Fillmore, but in my journeyings, severely confined by the limited resources of a village newspaper, I had never been able to reach the capital of the nation. The President was then not as accessible as he is today. The rules of the White House were more conventional, and visitors of the merely curious class required the aid of those in authority to give them access to the ruler of the Republic. A Whig United States Senator whom I had in a very humble way aided to elect gave me the very great gratification of a personal visit to the President, and in those days, in a little village nestling in the spurs of the Alleghenies and guiltless of railroads and telegraphs until within a very few years, a personal visit to the President was a most inspiring theme for discussion, not only in curb-stone and corner store-box gatherings but in social circles as well.

President Fillmore was one of the two conventional and austere dignified Presidents of the last half century, Buchanan being his fellow. The first impressions, mingled with the awe that a visit to the President inspired in one who was making his first visit to the capital and for the first time in the presence of the ruler of the Republic, are remembered as distinctly today as they were when I left the capital. He was a man of magnificent proportions and severe dignity, without a trace of the genial qualities which distinguished some of the later Presidents, but he was always courteous to his guests of all conditions. He was ever faultlessly dressed to set off his admirably fashioned form and his finely chiseled face, with a luxuriant crown of gray hair. His appearance gave every indication of greatness to the ordinary observer, and it is conceded by all that, even with a

Cabinet of exceptional ability, headed by Daniel Webster, he was equal to every duty of his high office.

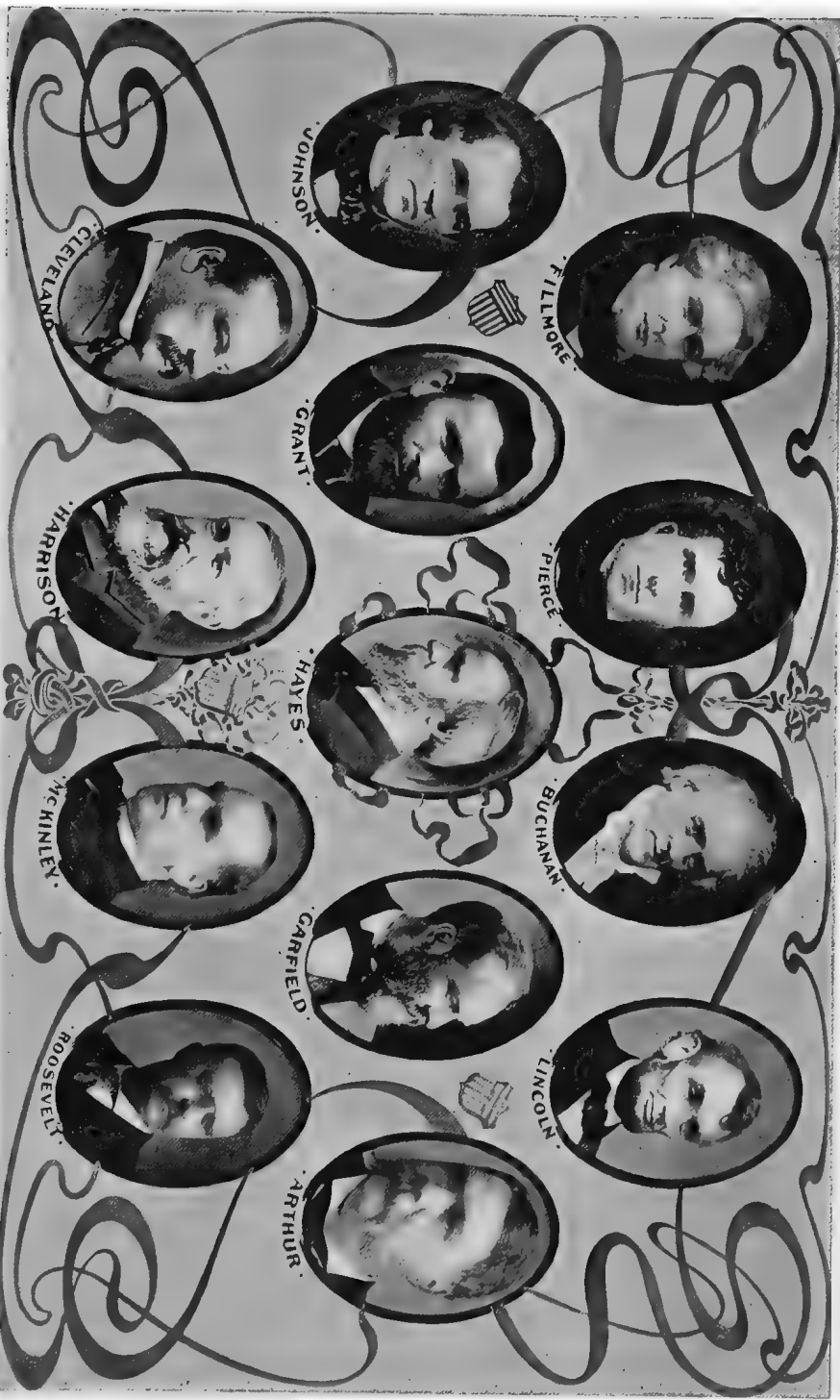
It would have been very gratifying to me to see a genial smile on his handsome face during the brief interview to which I was a witness rather than a participant, but I was disappointed. I never met him again except once in a casual way until after he had retired from the Presidency. He returned to private life with his mental and physical vigor entirely unabated; and I met him on several occasions, the most notable of which was when he returned from Europe to New York, in the summer of 1856, and delivered a short address when serenaded by an assembly of his political friends. I had been a delegate to the convention that nominated Fremont, but was so unfavorable to the Fremont movement that I quietly retired before the ballot for President; but an interview with Fillmore at the St. Nicholas Hotel on the occasion referred to developed a political purpose that I regarded as even much less entitled to support than Fremont and his cause.

Fillmore was intensely embittered against those whom he regarded as the radical Republicans who supported Fremont. I found the dregs of his great battle for the acceptance of the Compromise measures, and the sting of his defeat in the Whig convention of 1852, pointedly reflected in him, and he was ten-fold more hostile to Fremont than he was to Buchanan. He entered that contest as a candidate of the Americans, whose convention had nominated him in Philadelphia in February of that year; and his candidacy was indorsed by a Whig convention in Baltimore in September. He bore himself in the contest with great dignity. With all his intensity of partisan feeling, he never uttered a sentence that was unworthy of a most accomplished statesman. He had risen from the shop where he had served as an apprentice in the carding and fulling business to the highest civil trust of the world, and was entirely the architect of his own fortune. Having purchased from his employer part of the time of his apprenticeship to enable him to prepare for the study of law, he soon rose to a high position at the Bar, represented the Buffalo district in Congress, was the unsuccessful candidate of his party for Governor in 1846, and the following year was elected Controller of the State, which position he held when he was nominated for Vice President in 1848. His nomination was a









THE PRESIDENTS WITH WHOM COLONEL McCLURE HAS HAD A PERSONAL ACQUAINTANCE.



triumph over the first attempt made to win a national nomination by the power of wealth, as illustrated by Abbott Lawrence.

The change in the White House caused by the death of President Taylor and the succession of Fillmore was a complete transformation from the most delightful social conditions to the severely quiet hospitality that naturally followed the period of mourning for the dead President, and that was measurably maintained thereafter by Mrs. Fillmore. She was one of the loveliest and best of American women, and had given a strong helping hand to her husband in all the trials of his life; but she entered the White House as its mistress a confirmed invalid, and never was in a condition of health to participate in the social ceremonies excepting when it was absolute necessity. She was universally respected and beloved by all who knew her, and the contrast between the quiet suffering of Mrs. Fillmore, who died only a few months after she retired, and the sparkling brilliancy of "Betty Bliss," who was mistress of the White House for Taylor, was keenly felt in social circles of the capital. "Betty" Taylor was the youngest of the several daughters of the President, one of whom had married Jefferson Davis; and after being educated in Philadelphia she married Major William W. S. Bliss at the age of nineteen. Upon the inauguration of her father she became the mistress of the White House, because of her mother's feeble health, and her husband became her father's secretary. Bliss was a very accomplished soldier and gentleman; had served on General Taylor's staff, and was generally credited with having written the terse dispatch from Taylor to Santa Anna saying: "General Taylor never surrenders." "Betty Bliss," as she was universally called, was only twenty-four years of age when her father became President, and with her elegant culture, sunny disposition and admirable social tact she was probably next to Mrs. Cleveland, the most generally popular mistress the White House has ever had. She became a widow in a few years thereafter, and later married Philip P. Dandridge, of Winchester, Va., where she has lived for nearly half a century, universally beloved by all who surrounded her.

I first met President Pierce at Harrisburg in the early period of his Administration, when he was the guest of Governor Pollock as a visitor to the State Agricultural Fair. He was a man of elegant and graceful manners, faultless in the quiet elegance

of his dress, and most genial in his intercourse with others without impairing the dignity of his high position. He had strong, manly, regular features, with an unusual wealth of beautiful hair, and may well be classed as one of the few of our handsome Presidents. He was born and raised on a farm up in the bleak hills of New Hampshire, and in his industrial life exhibited such unusual mental qualities that his father made great sacrifices to give him an academic and finally a collegiate education. He was admitted to the Bar in 1827, and soon thereafter was elected to the popular branch of his Legislature, where he served four years. He was elected United States Senator in 1837, and was the youngest member of that body when he took his seat. He took a prominent part in the discussion of public questions in the Senate, which then embraced such men as Clay, Calhoun, Webster, Buchanan, Wright and others. After five years' service in the Senate he resigned that high office to resume the practice of his profession in Concord. He was a man of generous, convivial nature, and it was an open secret at the time of his resignation that he retired from Washington because he wished to escape its constant current of convivial temptations. Three years after he resigned he was offered an appointment to the Senate by the Governor to fill a vacancy, but he declined, as he did the nomination for Governor, which would have meant an election. In a public letter he declared it to be his "fixed purpose never again to be voluntarily separated from his family except at the call of his country in time of war." In the early part of the Mexican war Pierce was appointed Brigadier General by President Polk, and he served creditably under Scott, but without special distinction.

In 1852 the Democratic National Convention was greatly embarrassed in its choice of a candidate for President. Cass, Buchanan, Douglas and Marcy were the chief competitors for the prize, and after several days of angry discussion and fruitless balloting the Virginia delegation, on the thirty-fifth ballot, gave a solid vote to Franklin Pierce, whose name had not until then been before the convention, and on the forty-ninth ballot he received a practically unanimous vote. The Compromise measures of 1850 were claimed by their supporters as a final settlement of the slavery agitation, as the Democrats of all sections approved them, while the Whigs haltingly approved

them in their platform by a trade with the South to assure the nominations of Scott for President. The result was Pierce's election by an overwhelming majority. He carried every State but four—Vermont and Massachusetts in the North, and Tennessee and Kentucky in the South. His election was generally accepted as ending the disturbing slavery agitation for the time, but it was during his Administration that the country was shocked by the reopening of the slavery agitation with increased intensity by the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, resulting in the defeat of Pierce by Buchanan after a desperate struggle in the national convention.

It was always a pleasure to visit President Pierce when he occupied the White House, and I availed myself of the few opportunities I had to meet him. He was ever cordial, with supreme tact in disposing of his visitors who trespassed upon his time, and made every one leave the White House feeling that it was a delightful privilege for an American citizen to see the ruler of the nation. Mrs. Pierce was a highly cultivated and accomplished woman, and fulfilled her duties as mistress of the White House by the generous exercise of quiet hospitality. She was greatly averse to the glitter of fashionable and conventional life, and was always most happy in the circle of her own home. President Pierce retired from office in 1857, suffering keen disappointment because of his failure to be renominated, since he started in the national convention within a very few votes of Buchanan, the successful candidate. Two of his three children had died in early youth, and the third suffered a tragic death in a railroad accident a short time before his father's inauguration as President. The President and his wife retired to their childless home in Concord, where they both lived a rather severely domestic life, and he was unheard of in political struggles, either State or national, thereafter. In 1863 his wife, who had made his home lustrous with all the loveliest attributes of womanhood, was called to join her children across the dark water, and six years later, in 1869, the devoted husband and father answered the mystic bugle call to join the great majority on the other side.

James Buchanan was the successor of Pierce, and I knew him intimately for some years before he became President. I was then a resident of his native county of Franklin, to which he made frequent visits, and, like all who knew him, cherished the

highest personal regard for him. He was a man of great ability, but extreme caution. In all his great career as a statesman he never originated a public measure that made its mark in the annals of the nation, but he did not lack courage. When his course was decided upon he always acted with great directness and stability of purpose. His humble home in the little cove was fortunately near the village of Mercersburg, where he had the advantage of excellent schools and an academy, and by great frugality on the part of himself and his parents he acquired a college education and graduated with honors. In his early political career he was a Federalist, and represented the Lancaster district in Congress for a number of years. He finally espoused the cause of Jackson, and soon came to be recognized as one of the ablest of the Democratic leaders. He was a man of tireless industry, never employed a secretary, and wrote all his many letters with great care in a beautiful copper-plate hand. This habit he maintained until he was overwhelmed with correspondence when he became the Democratic candidate in 1856, when for the first time he employed a secretary.

Buchanan had desperate battles even with his own State in his Presidential aspirations, as Cass was made prominent chiefly by the opponents of Buchanan; but in 1856 he returned from the English mission that had kept him away and entirely free from the disturbing agitation growing out of the repeal of the Missouri Compromise. I was at the Merchants' Hotel in Philadelphia, the evening he arrived there from Europe on his way home, and heard him discuss the Presidential situation with great calmness, but, of course, with intense interest respecting himself. His strong Scotch-Irish qualities were exhibited in speaking of the opposition to him in his own party in Pennsylvania, but he ever restrained his criticism of others within the most dignified lines. Many of the leading Whigs, especially in Philadelphia, supported him for President against Fremont, and many others were, like myself, finally restrained from supporting him by the strong pro-slavery platform of the Chicago Convention that nominated him.

No more sincere and patriotic man ever entered the Presidency than James Buchanan, but he was chosen on a distinct sectional issue and elected by the vote of the solid South (with the exception of Maryland, which voted for Fillmore); and,

being a strict constructionist himself, it was most natural for him to be in harmony with the Southern views on the one supreme issue that then convulsed the country. I saw him frequently during his occupancy of the White House, and always found him the same severely dignified but always courtly gentleman. Miss Harriet Lane, who was mistress of the White House for her bachelor uncle, and who is yet living, was one of the most attractive and accomplished of the many accomplished ladies who have filled that most trying position, and her graceful and genial hospitality did much to relieve the severe habits of the President. Buchanan had the severest ordeal of any President excepting that of Lincoln, and his only error was his delay in reorganizing his Cabinet for the maintenance of the Union. He did it only when the last hope of peaceable Union had perished; but from the time the change was made, and after his retirement, during the entire civil war he was thoroughly loyal to the cause of the Union. He was respected by all who knew him, even including his bitterest opponents, while the social reign in the White House was never more delightful than when Miss Lane was its mistress. Buchanan had little part in it beyond the conventional formalities necessary to his position. A very few ladies were welcome visitors to the Executive Chamber, and perhaps the only one for whom he would relax his habits of industry was Mrs. Gaines, one of the brightest of our American women, well remembered as a celebrated suitor in forty years of litigation for the possession of a large fortune in New Orleans. Buchanan was the first bachelor elected to the Presidency and Cleveland the only one who succeeded him, but Cleveland retired from the bachelor list before half his first term had expired. Buchanan lived seven years after his retirement, and died in his home at Wheatland in 1868.

There was sudden and violent transformation in general conditions in Washington after the inauguration of Lincoln. We were on the threshold of civil war; sectional strife was tempestuous, and in a month and a fortnight after his inauguration the guns of Beauregard thundered against the little starving garrison of Sumter. Lincoln was the least conventional of all our Presidents, but even if he had been inclined to the more ceremonious official life, it would have been next to impossible with all the violent surges of civil war convulsing the country



and the capital. I knew him better than I have ever known any of the other Presidents whom I have met during the last half a century. It was my fortune to be charged with the management of the battle of 1860, in Pennsylvania, when the October election was to decide the question of his election or defeat in November, and that brought me into the closest relations with him. The fact that it was eminently successful gave me more credit from Lincoln than I merited, and it was the beginning of a personal and political relationship that ended only with his death, and that is the most grateful of all the memories of my life.

I saw Lincoln under all conditions and circumstances; heard his inimitable witticisms, and saw him many times depressed to what seemed to be the verge of despair. He possessed one of the most kindly and sympathetic natures, and there was not a sorrow felt by his people that did not shadow his life. He saw more people during his more than four years of office than any other five Presidents combined in the same period, and was always most happy to meet the people, as he did every week, in the great East Room of the White House. It soon became known to all those in charge of the White House that position or condition did not make a visitor unwelcome to the President, and the humblest mother of a soldier could always reach him to plead her cause; and it was seldom done in vain. Unlike his predecessors, Fillmore and Buchanan, whom I had seen in the same positions, Lincoln was notably careless in dress. He always wore clothes of good material, but his tall, slender, angular form unfitted him to present anything like elegance in apparel. He was simply forgetful of that important feature of one who is the ruler of a great nation. I remember on one occasion seeing several English noblemen presented to him by Secretary Seward, who, with all their good breeding, illy concealed their disappointment at the appearance of the President of the United States when he first uncoiled his long legs and rose up to meet them; but before they had left him they learned to respect if not to reverence the representative of the great free Government of the world. He had no taste for the conventional social occasions which were at times imposed upon him at the White House, but his wife enjoyed the social distinction she possessed, and at times gave painful illustrations of the then ex-

isting but not known malady that soon after the death of the President developed into hopeless insanity. He entered the Presidency without a policy relating to the secession issue, and he met all the many grave questions as they arose with a degree of statesmanship and fidelity that few, if any, could have equaled and none surpassed. His faith and hope were in the people, from whose humblest ranks he had sprung, and his tragic death just when his great work seemed to be on the eve of consummation made his name the most beloved and revered in American history.

Andrew Johnson, like Lincoln, came from close to mother earth, with parentage so obscure as to make the place of his birth a matter of dispute. He acquired his trade as a tailor before he could read or write, but he finally gravitated from North Carolina to Greenville, East Tennessee, where he married an intelligent helpmate who aided him greatly in his education, and who lived to see him Mayor of his city, State Representative and Senator, Governor, United States Senator and President of the United States, although her feeble health prevented her from making her home in Washington during his Presidency. Her place was filled by her daughter, Mrs. Patterson, whose husband was then a United States Senator, and who filled the position of mistress of the White House with a degree of dignified hospitality that commanded the approval of all.

I had known Johnson some years before his election as Vice-President, and as a delegate-at-large to the Baltimore Convention of 1864 I voted for his nomination, but not because I preferred him to Vice-President Hamlin. I voted for him because Mr. Lincoln personally expressed his desire that I should do so, and for reasons which made it a duty for me to comply. He had no hostility to Hamlin, and no special affection for Johnson, but he believed that the War Democrats not then connected with the Republican party were essential to party success, and he believed also that if the second officer of the Government was chosen from a reconstructed State in the heart of the Confederacy, by the election of one who had filled every office within the gift of his State, it would greatly strengthen the friends of the Union abroad, who were making a desperate battle to prevent the recognition of the Confederacy by England and France.

Johnson came into the Presidency through the tears of the nation over the assassination of Lincoln, and he was at once confronted with the exceptionally grave issue of reconstruction. He was unfortunate in coming into direct conflict with an intensely partisan and sectional Republican Senate and House, and an impassable chasm was soon created between them. His rule was tempestuous, as he was nothing if not aggressive, and while sincerely battling for the Southern people and their interests, he was chiefly or wholly responsible for the severe reconstruction policy that was adopted in the sweeping passions of the time. I never saw him but once after he became President. In response to his invitation I called upon him with Governor Curtin before the meeting of Congress in the fall of 1865. He desired to impress upon us the importance of sustaining his policy of reconstruction, which he organized without the knowledge or authority of Congress, and for which he vainly hoped to command Congressional approval. I was not in sympathy with his policy, and in the discussion of the political situation he exhibited impatience and petulance at every opposing suggestion. After a very full and very frank expression of views on both sides, during which he was always arrogant, and often vehement, we parted with frigid formality on his part, and I never personally met him thereafter.

On the eve of his retirement from the Presidency Johnson issued a message in which he practically advised the repudiation of the national debt and throughout made an appeal to the agrarian sentiment of the country. It fell upon listless ears, and very few of those living today know that such a paper was presented to the public. He was the only President who imitated John Adams in not giving cordial personal welcome to his successor. Adams retired from the White House after midnight on the morning of Jefferson's inauguration, and did not appear at the ceremonies. Johnson was not visible at the Grant inauguration, but it was well known that Grant was quite as much responsible for it as Johnson himself, as Grant had publicly expressed his purpose not to have President Johnson accompany him to the Capitol for the inauguration.

## GRANT AS CHIEFTAIN AND PRESIDENT.

General Grant was made the Republican candidate for President in 1868 against his own personal wishes. He had never voted the Republican ticket, and always was Democratic in his tendencies. When the war ended he had, as he believed, irrevocably determined not to enter politics by becoming the Presidential candidate of any party. He might have adhered to that purpose if it had not been for his quarrel with President Johnson, that became intensely embittered on both sides, and brought the Republicans to the support of Grant, who finally, after much persuasion, was induced to accept the Republican nomination. I had met Grant only in a casual way several times during the war. He was a man who did not exert himself to make friends, and was always reserved but courteous in his intercourse with others. He was made a candidate without any effort on his part, as his conservative views called to his support the substantial interests of the country, which were greatly interested in having sectional passions overcome. I was chairman of the Pennsylvania delegation in the Chicago convention, and cast the vote of the State for his nomination, and I never more sincerely and heartily supported a candidate. While I had little to expect from him as a politician or statesman, I believed that his election would do more to tranquillize the country than the election of any of our more experienced and aggressive politicians. I had no personal or political ends to serve, and desired only the success of the Republican party in harmonizing the estranged sections of the country as speedily as possible.

On this issue I was grievously disappointed in President Grant's policy. I had never asked him to confer honors upon any one, and, therefore, had no personal disappointment. Indeed, I had retired from active participation in politics after his election, because the bankruptcy in which the destruction of Chambersburg by the Confederate troops had involved me made

it necessary to give my whole attention to my profession. Beyond an interview with him a short time before his inauguration, which was made important only by himself, and several visits to the White House in the early part of his administration without any political purpose, I had little intercourse with Grant during his administration. I met him several times on social occasions, but always without referring to political matters. I revolted against his renomination in 1872, and was chairman of the Pennsylvania delegation to the Cincinnati Convention that nominated Greeley as his competitor.

After his retirement from the Presidency I met him under very pleasant circumstances on several occasions, and once at a private lunch with him and Mr. Childs at Mr. Drexel's office had the only opportunity of my life to see the genial qualities which Grant possessed but rarely exhibited. We were left alone after lunch for more than an hour, and Grant surprised me by his free and excellent conversational powers and his intimate knowledge of all the political movements of the country. If he had been nominated and elected to a third term in 1880 I believe that he would have made a model President. He had broadened immensely in general public affairs, national and international, and by his journey around the world and in his more intimate acquaintance with the business interests of the people of our great country. He had few favorites when he was President, and, while he probably did not mean it, he repelled all who were not within the favorite circle. They seldom saw him, and the result was that his civil reign of eight years was conducted much on the principle of general army orders.

Grant was usually very reserved in conversation, alike on public and private occasions, and he never made those about him feel the superiority of his position and power. While the greatest of our Union generals, he was certainly among the most modest. His war bulletins were as epigrammatic as Napoleon's, and some of them are quoted by most of the school-boys of this age. Among the most memorable were his demand for the surrender of Fort Donelson, saying: "I propose to move immediately upon your works." Another, sent from the terribly bloody contest of the Wilderness, in which he said: "I propose to fight it out on this line if it takes all summer." His first letter to Lee demanding the surrender of the army in Northern

Virginia was a model of soldierly modesty, and his treatment of Lee when they finally met to consummate the surrender plainly exhibited his studied purpose to make no needless humiliation of the conquered chieftain of the Confederacy. Lee came, as army regulations required him, clad in his best regimentals, with a beautiful sword at his side that could have been demanded by his conqueror; but Grant came begrimed with the dust of a long-continued march, and without his sword. This omission in itself was notice to Lee that his sword would not be demanded, and the subject was not referred to.

In all the many deliverances of Grant in the army and in civil life there is not a single sentence to be found that is needlessly assertive of his high position. He was as much the commander of Sherman's army when it captured Atlanta as Sampson was commander of the fleet that destroyed the Spanish squadron at Santiago. He had the power to halt Sherman at any place, or to give him any orders, and was just as much present at the battle which won Atlanta as Sampson was at the battle which destroyed the Spanish squadron. He personally visited Sheridan in the Shenandoah Valley, aided in planning his campaign, and gave him orders; but in announcing the victories at Atlanta and in the Valley he never was guilty of the bombastic falsehood of declaring that "the army under my command" has defeated the enemy. A very pointed illustration of his modesty was given soon after the President and Secretary of War rejected the terms of surrender between Sherman and Johnston, resulting in Grant being ordered to North Carolina to take command of the army. His presence on the field made him commander of Sherman, but he understood the situation, appreciated Sherman's soldierly qualities, and simply advised him to demand and receive the surrender of Johnston's army on the same terms Grant had given to Lee at Appomattox. This was speedily accomplished, and Grant's dispatch announcing the surrender advised the Government in his modest way that Johnston had surrendered his army to General Sherman.

Grant, like Lincoln, has grown in fame and in the affections of the country and the world since his death. The assassination of Lincoln, which was the most terrible shock the nation ever felt, and the lingering malady that brought Grant to the grave with unspeakable suffering called out the sincerest sym-

pathy of all classes and conditions, and effaced the last lingering prejudices of personal or partisan foes. I saw this pointedly illustrated during the closing week of the Congress of 1885. In 1883 Grant had suffered a fall, receiving an injury from which he never recovered, and was unable to walk without the aid of a crutch, and in May, 1884, by the failure of the banking house of Grant & Ward, in which all his resources were invested, he was brought to hopeless bankruptcy. He gave to Vanderbilt all his personal possessions, including his sword and other gifts, as security for a loan of \$150,000, which was swallowed up in the Grant & Ward failure; and I have personal knowledge of the fact that the late Anthony J. Drexel advanced him at the same time \$75,000 for which he asked no security, as he made no claim against Grant and left no record of any indebtedness to his estate.

One of the most pathetic letters I have ever read I received from General Grant some weeks after his financial misfortunes had befallen him. I was then publishing a series of articles from the leading officers of both sides relating to the Civil War, and I wrote to Grant offering him \$100 a column for an article of five columns, giving any phase of the war he chose to present. He sent me in reply a closely written letter of over three pages, written by his own hand, in which he spoke most gratefully of the offer made to him, and also gave a painful portrayal of his embarrassed condition. He was compelled to decline the offer because of an engagement he had just then made to write a series of articles for the Century Magazine. In the latter part of 1884 it became whispered that Grant was suffering from a serious malady that was not defined to the public. The fact that he had a malignant and incurable cancer, which must sooner or later terminate his life, was not known to the public until about the middle of February, 1885, and the first authoritative announcement was given through Mr. Childs. He had been to New York and learned the precise truth as to Grant's condition, and on his return he sent for me to come to his office. He was greatly depressed by the information he gave me, and said that something must be done to make Grant feel that he was not forgotten by the country, whose unity he had preserved as the great chieftain of the Civil War. He said that Grant not only needed pecuniary support, as he was entirely without means

and hopelessly bankrupt, but that in his condition on the very verge of despair he would be strengthened in his battle for prolonged life if he could be restored to the army with the rank of General, retired.

The Senate was Republican, but the House was largely Democratic, with Carlisle as Speaker. Randall was the controlling leader on the floor, and Childs and Drexel were Randall's closest personal and political friends. They had never allowed Randall to expend any money in his campaigns, as they knew he was without the means to do it. I had also very intimate personal and political relations with Randall, and Childs asked me to go immediately to Washington, with a letter from him to Randall expressing the views of both himself and Drexel, earnestly urging him to take the lead in passing a bill to restore Grant to his old rank as General, retired, which would give him a handsome income and at the same time revive his greatly depressed spirits. I hastened to Washington and presented the letter to Randall. Everything depended upon the attitude he would take. Such legislation was against the general policy Randall had maintained with stubborn consistency, but he finally resolved all doubts in favor of the earnest appeal made by Childs and Drexel, and he agreed to champion the measure.

It required a few days of personal intercourse with his party friends in both Senate and House to get them in line, and there were many who hesitated, while a few were positively hostile. There were only a few days in which to pass the measure, and it was not finally passed until near noon on the 4th of March, just when Congress was about to adjourn *sine die*. President Arthur was in the Vice-President's room in the Capitol, for the purpose of signing bills which required his approval before the adjournment. The bill authorizing the appointment of Grant to the position of General, retired, was not finally passed and transcribed until the clock had once or more been turned backward to prevent the close of the Congress. It was hurried to President Arthur, who immediately signed it, and at once picked up a plain sheet of paper, wrote out the nomination of Grant to the rank of General, retired, and hurried it back to the Senate, where it was unanimously confirmed, and was one of the last acts of that Congress. I have several times heard Mr. Childs speak of the great ray of sunshine that this action of the



Government brought to the sorrow-shadowed home of Grant. He said that with all of Grant's great achievements in politics or war, none received such intensely grateful welcome in the home of the Great Captain of the war.

In the small circle of Grant's very intimate friends George W. Childs was doubtless closer to Grant than any others. He had no political purposes to advance, and he was tireless in his unselfish efforts to serve his beloved chief. Childs told me on one occasion that Grant was one of the broadest-gauged and most liberal of men, and that only on one point was he unwilling to take advice. He believed himself to be a perfect judge of a good horse, and, as Childs presented it, he could with safety criticise, in Grant's presence, any great campaign he ever planned or any great battle he ever fought, but to question his judgment as to a horse was the one thing that he did not tolerate. Childs happened once to remark in Grant's presence that he was looking for a fine pair of horses for family use. Grant at once said: "Don't worry about it; I will select one and send it to you." A short time thereafter Childs received a pair of fine-looking horses, with a bill for \$1700, which he promptly paid, and after giving the horses a fair trial he quietly sold them for one-tenth the price he had paid for them, but never discussed the subject with Grant.

I was a guest at a dinner given by Childs to John Walter, of the London Times. It was after Grant had retired from the Presidency and was enjoying excellent health. Walter was amazed beyond expression to find Grant one of the guests of honor and by his side General Joseph E. Johnston, the ablest of the Confederate commanders next to Lee. It was a revelation to the great English journalist that these opposing chieftains, whose swords had been sheathed and their banners furled only a few years before, were welcome guests side by side at a hospitable board in the North. A few years later, on the 16th of June, 1885, a little more than three months after Grant had been restored to his rank in the army by Congress, his painful sufferings, which had been borne with heroic patience, were ended, and the country and the world mingled with their sincere sorrow for the death of the Great Captain the grateful reflection that two of the most heroic of the Confederate soldiers were side by side with Union heroes as pall-bearers at his grave.

Although President Grant was a graduate of West Point and had served with distinction in the Mexican War along with Lee, McClellan and others, he was time and again repelled in his efforts to re-enter the army in 1861 when the Civil War began. He had resigned from the army soon after the Mexican War and made a dismal failure as manager of a farm and as a real estate agent in St. Louis, after which he moved to Galena, where his father and brother were engaged in a large tannery enterprise. He was in their employ in 1861 at the modest salary of \$800 a year. When Sumter was fired upon he appeared at a public meeting and was one of the first to volunteer, and his company was one of the earliest to arrive at Springfield, the capital of the State. He was accompanied by the Congressman from his city, Elihu B. Washburn, who presented him to Governor Yates and urged his appointment to the command of a regiment, confidently expecting that it would be promptly granted. I have heard the story from both Washburn and Yates, and Yates regarded as one of the best reminiscences of his public career the story of how he treated Grant when he came to ask for a command in the volunteer army. He refused Grant a command, but as Grant had a knowledge of military organization he gave him employment for a time in the Executive Office to aid in the organization of the troops, and when that was ended Grant quickly packed his grip and went home to Galena, while a lot of green colonels went into the field.

He had served with McClellan in Mexico, and he next made a journey to Cincinnati to offer his services on the staff of McClellan, who had just been made a major-general and assigned to the command of the movement against the South in Western Virginia. He twice called at McClellan's headquarters, and left his card, but did not succeed in obtaining an audience. Again he gave up in despair and returned to Galena, but soon thereafter Governor Yates found himself beset by a new regiment largely composed of "toughs," who were entirely unmanageable, and he telegraphed Grant asking him to take command of the regiment. The invitation was gratefully accepted, and when Grant met his roystering soldiers he soon found that only by heroic measures could he make them understand military regulations. He did not attempt suddenly and arbitrarily to enforce discipline, but in a short time the regiment was ordered to Cairo

and Grant was advised to make requisition for transportation. His answer was: "I don't want transportation; the regiment will march to Cairo." He marched his boys for some days, keeping them steadily on the go, and by the time he got them into camp at Cairo he had them prepared to accept military regulations. He soon left his regiment by promotion, but it proved to be one of the best fighting organizations of his command.

Grant was a good hater, although in the later years of his life his hatreds were greatly mellowed, as is shown by his kind references to those against whom he had cherished some enmity, given in his *Recollections*, most of which were written while suffering great agony from the fatal malady that had then seized him. He seldom smiled, and I never heard him indulge in a hearty laugh, but he had a very keen sense of the ludicrous, and often gave some of the most terse and pungent expressions mingled with the most polished wit. He did not love Sumner for the reason that Sumner seldom harmonized with any man holding higher position than himself, and on one occasion, as I heard from one of the party present, when Sumner was discussed by some of the President's friends, and one remarked that Sumner did not believe in the Bible, Grant's response was: "No, he didn't write it." He had great faith in his star, and with all the appalling upheaval of the Liberals in the opening of the campaign of 1872, when it looked as if the country would be swept like a tempest against the Administration, Grant had abiding faith in his triumph. The Cincinnati convention that nominated Greeley was a very imposing and exceptionally able national body, and Grant's friends who witnessed it were very much alarmed at the Republican revolt, and they bore doleful tales of the situation to Grant at Washington. After listening in his imperturbable way to the statements of his somewhat demoralized friends, who had told him of the immense gathering at Cincinnati, his quiet answer was: "Yes, they were all there." My estimate of Grant is, that, great as he was, he never reached anything like the full stature of his greatness until after he retired from the Presidency, when he learned much that he should have learned before.

President Grant had a lovely helpmate in his wife. She entered the White House an unusually sweet, unaffected, capable woman, and was as unobtrusive and unpretentious as her distinguished

husband. Her social rule as the first lady of the land was marked by generous and unpretentious hospitality, and she was universally beloved by all who came in contact with her. She always spoke of the General or the President as "Mr. Grant," and only on one occasion did I ever hear her refer to any of the particular attributes of her husband. At an informal social circle when Grant was hammering the way before Richmond the question of the capture of the Confederate capital was introduced by some of Mrs. Grant's company, and she was naturally asked what she thought of the situation. Her answer was substantially as follows: "Mr. Grant started out to capture Richmond, and he is a very obstinate man when he undertakes anything." Mrs. Grant is still living, and one of two widows of ex-Presidents who receive an annuity of \$5,000 from the Government. She commands the homage of the American people wherever she goes, and one of the most beautiful illustrations of her appreciation of the magnanimity of her great husband was recently shown when the wife of the great Union general of the war and President of the country met in the kindest social intercourse the widow of the late President of the Confederacy.

## HAYES' ELECTION AND ADMINISTRATION.

The personal attributes and the administration of Rutherford B. Hayes as President of the United States will perplex the future historians of the country for all time. I knew him well before he was called to the Presidency by the Electoral Commission in 1877, and few men who have attained public distinction were more generally respected for integrity of purpose and strength of character. He had made an excellent record during the war, and, like Harrison, who was equally modest in the employment of methods for self-advancement, he was much better fitted to command a division or a corps than a number of those who climbed to such positions in the army. He started his military career as Major of the Twenty-third Ohio Regiment, and served creditably until the close of the war, retiring with the brevet of Major General for special gallantry.

Hayes was first nominated for Congress in 1864, when in the field in command of his brigade, or division, but refused to leave the army to conduct his own campaign, and he was elected and also re-elected in 1866. He was twice elected Governor of Ohio, defeating the two ablest Democratic leaders of the State, viz.: Allen G. Thurman and George H. Pendleton. During his service in Congress and as Governor the cheap money question became very formidable in shape of the issue of paying all public and private obligations in greenbacks, but Hayes always stood resolutely in favor of an honest financial system. At the close of his term, in 1873, at a very quiet off-year election, the Democrats elected William Allen Governor by about a thousand majority over General Noyce. Allen led the greenback movement with great ability, and in 1875 it was deemed doubtful whether he could be defeated in his contest for re-election. The Republicans were compelled to turn to their strongest man, and Governor Hayes seems to have been univer-

sally accepted as the man who would command the largest vote. He was nominated against his earnest wishes, and after one of the most desperate campaigns ever made in Ohio he was elected Governor for the third term, defeating the great greenback leader by a majority of 5500.

Mr. Hayes was not in any sense a political manager. In 1876 the Republican State convention unanimously presented him as a candidate for President. It was not believed at the time that Ohio could obtain the Presidential candidate, or Senator Sherman would doubtless have been presented. The field was well filled with such Presidential gladiators as Conkling, Blaine and Morton, but the fight became so embittered that the convention finally took a stampede to Hayes as a dark horse and made him the Republican nominee. The campaign of 1876 was not made specially memorable until after the election. Tilden, the Democratic candidate, received a popular majority of 250,000, and by the vote as cast in the States of South Carolina, Florida and Louisiana he had a decided majority of the electoral vote, but the returning boards of those States gave certificates of election to the Republican electors, which gave Hayes one majority over Tilden in the electoral college.

The battle for the disputed electors in South Carolina, Florida and Louisiana and also for one elector in Oregon aroused the whole country to an unusual degree of aggressive interest. Leading men of both parties, including Senator Sherman, of Ohio, Governor Curtin of Pennsylvania and others, appeared before the returning boards of the disputed Southern States and waged most earnest contests for the success of their respective parties. When the returns were finally declared in favor of Hayes the Democrats were inflamed to the verge of revolutionary action, and the great Republic was threatened with anarchy in the very citadel of its authority. It was finally conceded that revolutionary measures in some form would be met at the inauguration of the President, and the more considerate leaders of both parties took pause to inquire how such a conflict could be averted. This resulted in the enactment of a law by Congress providing for an Electoral Commission, which as finally constituted contained eight Republicans and seven Democrats. Although it was made up of members of the Supreme Court, grave Senators and Representatives of national character, on every

vital test there was a strict party division, and Hayes was declared elected by one majority.

The Democrats were united in the belief that Tilden had been honestly elected President of the United States, and many of the more intelligent and influential Republicans believe that Tilden was entitled to the office. Among these was Senator Conkling, who did not appear in the Senate, although in Washington and in excellent health, when the final vote was taken to decide the dispute in Louisiana.

Such were the conditions under which Mr. Hayes reached the Presidency. He knew that his integrity was distrusted not only by the entire opposing party, but by many of his own party friends, because he accepted a position to which they believed he had not been elected. His position may be regarded as fairly expressed in a letter he addressed to Senator Sherman at New Orleans, who was there at the time to procure from the returning board a certificate of election for the Hayes electors. In that letter he said: "A fair election would have given us about forty electoral votes in the South; at least that many; but we are not to allow our friends to defeat one outrage and fraud by another. There must be nothing crooked on our part. Let Mr. Tilden have the place by violence, intimidation and fraud, rather than undertake to prevent it by means that will not bear the severest scrutiny."

Mr. Hayes was an earnest and thorough partisan, and I think it due to his memory to say that he believed that some of the Southern States were controlled by the Democrats by intimidating and defrauding the negro vote; but if he had been in a position to look the issue squarely in the face from an intelligent and entirely impartial standpoint he could hardly have failed to confess that when the Republican Governor of Louisiana had appointed the officials to register the vote of the State, with the power to determine who should and who should not vote, and when the same authority controlled the election boards in every parish and yet failed to win a majority for the party, after having decided who should vote and who should count the returns, there could be little ground of complaint against the vote and original returns thus made by the Republicans.

There were grave apprehensions that the inauguration of Hayes might be violently interfered with by assassination or dis-

turbance of some kind. Indeed, I believe that there was more apprehension felt for the safety of Hayes when he was inaugurated in 1877 than there was for President Lincoln on the 4th of March, 1861. Violent threats had been made by impassioned Democrats that the fraud should not be permitted to reach its consummation, and every possible precaution was taken to protect Hayes on his entire journey from Ohio to Washington, and at every stage of the inauguration proceedings. If any violent purposes had been cherished, their execution was prevented by the complete preparations for the protection of the new President, and Hayes was safely conducted into the White House as President of the United States, with all the power of the government, including army and navy, subject to his orders, and ready to maintain the majesty of the law that had given him his high office.

It was an open secret that soon after the election of 1876, when it was definitely decided to have South Carolina, Florida and Louisiana counted for Hayes, the Democratic revolutionary sentiment of those States was tempered to passive submission by the distinct promise made to Democratic leaders of those States in the name of Hayes, through his most trusted friends, that if they submitted peaceably to the election of Hayes by the electoral votes of those States they would be given the control of their respective States by recognition of the Democratic Governors and Legislatures which had been elected along with Tilden. Few at the present time can appreciate the importance to the property interests of the Southern States to get control of their State governments and Legislatures; and when it became understood, although always spoken of in bated breath, that Hayes would give the Democrats their Governors and Legislatures in South Carolina, Florida and Louisiana, it promised so much to the people of property throughout the entire South that they were ready to yield at least sullen if not willing submission to the declared election and inauguration of Hayes. But for this silver lining to the political cloud in the South, Hayes would have had a term of turbulence, with a strong tendency to anarchy in many portions of the South.

Believing that any lawfully declared elected President was better than revolution, I earnestly advocated the passage of the Electoral Commission bill, and when its final judgment was



given I advocated submission to the decision, as Hayes held his commission with all the ceremony of law, and under an act of Congress that had been warmly supported by the leaders of both parties. I was soon brought into rather intimate relations with the new President and had many conferences with him at the White House during the slow progress in the accomplishment of the revolution in the South. In the first conversation I had with him, after his inauguration, he frankly stated his purpose to bring about the acceptance of the Democratic Governors and legislators in Florida and Louisiana, and he tirelessly labored to accomplish that result. He was then in confidential communication with such men as Senator-elect Butler, of South Carolina, who is yet living, and who was a claimant for a seat in the Senate, having been elected by the Hampton Legislature, while the Chamberlin, or Republican, Legislature had elected another.

In bringing about the recognition of the Democratic Governors and Legislatures in the disputed States no violent measures could be taken, as Hayes was in the exceedingly embarrassing position of holding the Presidency by the same vote in those States that had elected the Republican candidates for Governor, according to the returning board's report, and it was certainly a very delicate task for him, holding the Presidency by the same vote that they held their Governorships, to ask them to retire and permit the recognition of the Democratic Governors and legislators, which certainly seemed to be a confession that Tilden was elected President. Hayes was much distressed by the embarrassments which confronted him. The Republican Governors, of course, refused to yield, and I heard him discuss the situation on several occasions. On one point he did not hesitate to express himself frankly and positively, and that was that the plighted faith made by his friends to the Southern States must be maintained, and he believed that the acceptance of these governments would be the beginning of much better political and industrial conditions throughout the South.

I had abundant opportunity in conferences with the President to estimate him correctly. He was incapable of dissembling, and certainly meant in all things to be entirely honest and faithful in the discharge of his duties. He held that his commission as President was given by the Electoral Commission, an entirely lawful tribunal from which there was no appeal, and that therein

his position differed from that of the several Governors in the disputed States. However his judgment may have been influenced by personal interests and personal conditions, no man could have conversed freely with Hayes on this vexed problem without regarding him as a sincerely conscientious man. He was an earnest and apparently consistent but unostentatious religionist, and had been so most of his life. He brought from his village home in Ohio the same simple religious ceremonies and erected their altar in the White House. His Sundays were devoted to religious services, in which he was heartily joined by his wife, and it was not uncommon for those who were interested in church music to drop in at the White House on Sunday evening to hear, or join in, the singing of hymns.

Hayes certainly believed that in accepting the Presidency as he did he accepted an entirely lawful duty, and he certainly aimed to discharge it with absolute integrity. He was not a genial man, never was known to perpetrate a joke, and while not as severely dignified as Buchanan or Fillmore, he was generally reserved in conversation, although always courteous and scrupulously maintained the dignity of his position. He was a sincere civil service reformer, and exhibited his fidelity to his civil service faith by the removal of Chester A. Arthur, who afterward became President, from the Collectorship of New York, and A. B. Cornell, who afterwards became Governor, from the Naval Office, because under their direction the Custom House "has been used to manage and control political affairs." A desperate battle was made against the confirmation of the new appointees with Conkling in the lead, but they were finally confirmed.

There was no very serious difficulty about the recognition of the Hampton State government in South Carolina, as the maintenance of the Chamberlin government depended wholly upon United States troops for protection, and that issue was settled when the proper time came for consummating the agreement by the quiet withdrawal of the troops from Columbia. Governor Chamberlin, the Republican claimant, at once gave up his office and permitted Hampton, the Democratic Governor, to take possession, which speedily scattered the carpet-bag legislators, and gave the Democrats control of the State government. This was followed by the admission of Butler to the Senate, and it was

decided by the vote of Senator J. D. Cameron. Little difficulty was experienced in giving the Democrats possession of Florida, as the Republican claimants were steadily weakening under the impression that they were finally to be overthrown. When the asperities of the conflict had been sufficiently tempered to warrant definite action the President recognized the Democratic Governor of Florida, on the ground that he had been declared as elected by the decision of the Supreme Court. Louisiana was the most disturbing of all the disputed States. Packard, the Republican Governor, was the man who had controlled the returning board to declare himself and Hayes elected and he was persistent in his right to retain his office as long as Hayes retained the Presidency. He was implacable, and the President finally decided to send a special commission to that State, composed of able and conservative Republicans, to devise some method, after consultation with all parties, by which the Nichols Governor and Legislature could be recognized. That commission consisted of present Senator Hawley, of Connecticut; present Justice Harlan, of Kentucky; Wayne MacVeagh, of Pennsylvania; Charles V. Lawrence, of Illinois, and John C. Brown, of Tennessee. They proceeded to New Orleans, and were unable to accomplish anything beyond conveying to the Republicans the fact that the ultimate recognition of the Democratic Governor and Legislature was a necessity, and would be accomplished. This resulted in a compact, with which the commission had nothing to do whatever, and of which it had no knowledge, by which the Louisiana Lottery Company agreed to furnish whatever money was necessary to persuade enough of the Packard Senators and Representatives to join the Nichols Legislature to give it a majority of admittedly elected members in both branches. The consideration for the Louisiana Lottery Company was the granting of a charter in the constitution for a period of years. In a short time, under this commercial arrangement, Nichols had an undisputed Legislature, the Packard Legislature perished, and the Louisiana Lottery Company received its charter when the new constitution was framed.

This completed the fulfilment of the Hayes obligation to give the Democrats of those States their own government, and it was the beginning of the end of carpet-bag rule in the South. I saw the President soon after the Louisiana difficulty had been

finally settled, and he felt that a great load had been taken from his shoulders when his faith with the South had been fulfilled, and he confidently expected to have a peaceful and successful administration of the government. He would have been glad to accomplish his re-election, but he was one of the few of our Presidents who was practically without political following or force in the national convention of his party at the close of his term. When he retired from the Presidency he returned to his quiet village home at Fremont, Ohio, and there devoted himself to rural pursuits until 1893, when on the 17th of January he died after a brief illness.

Mrs. Lucy W. Hayes was an accomplished and severely religious woman. She was the first of the ladies of the White House to banish every form of wine from State ceremonies, and that considerably narrowed her social circle, and during her period as first lady of the nation the social ceremonies of the President's House were limited by the restraining influences of her methods. She was a very estimable lady, distinguished for her service in the hospitals during the war, and was highly esteemed by those who were brought into intimate relations with her. She was honored on retiring from the White House by a handsome testimonial from the Prohibition organizations of the country, including the presentation of her painted portrait to be added to the gallery of the White House. She survived her retirement from the White House seven years, and died at her home in Ohio on the 25th of June, 1889.

## GARFIELD AND HIS BRIEF ADMINISTRATION.

James Abram Garfield, who was elected President in 1880 over General Hancock, his Democratic competitor, was one of the real jolly good fellows to be met in Washington from the time that he entered Congress in 1863. He was a man of imposing presence and most genial manners, and one of the most versatile scholars of his day. He was eminent as preacher, teacher, lawyer, General and statesman, and a very fascinating conversationalist. When he was the Republican leader in Congress he was justly proud of the distinction he had achieved without friends or fortuitous circumstance. He had a hard struggle to obtain a collegiate education. His father had settled in the Western Reserve of Ohio when it was an almost unbroken wilderness, but died young, leaving his widow with four small children, the youngest of whom was destined to be President of the United States; and their only fortune was a rude little log cabin and a few acres of cleared land.

The family struggled in poverty, but the mixture of Puritan and Huguenot blood that was infused into the children made them sturdy helpmates for their mother, and as early as possible they turned their attention to earning a little money in every way that was offered. James spent one summer driving mules on the towpath for a boat on the Ohio Canal, and soon thereafter he became a proficient carpenter. He worked steadily at his trade, studied by the lamp or pine-knot fire at night, and finally was enabled to get into the seminary a few miles from his home. By tireless industry and earning his own way, he finally graduated at Williams College in 1856. He had early adopted the faith of the Campbellites, known as the "Disciples," a church without an ordained ministry, and he frequently filled the pulpit in the religious services of his people. After he graduated he became president of Hiram College, and soon became known as one of the leading teachers and scholars of the country. While con-

ducting his college he studied law, but by reason of his diversion to military and political channels there was little opportunity for winning distinction at the Bar.

Garfield won high rank as a political disputant in the campaign of 1856, when he actively supported Fremont, and in 1859, without seeking the position, he was chosen to the State Senate. His service in the Legislature was brief, as early in 1861 he volunteered in the war, and was made lieutenant colonel of the Forty-second Regiment of Ohio Volunteers, many of whom were his old pupils of Hiram College. When he entered military life he gave it the same careful study as was his habit in the performance of all duties, and his regiment was soon regarded as one of the best disciplined in the volunteers from the State. He made a heroic movement against General Marshall, of Kentucky, in the early part of 1862, and was promoted to Brigadier General for the skill and valor he exhibited at Middle Creek. He later became chief of staff to General Rosecrans, and was promoted to Major General for gallantry in the battle of Chickamauga. He had been chosen to Congress in the fall of 1862 while in the field, and he resigned his commission in the army just in time to meet with the regular session of Congress on the first Monday of December, 1863. From that time he served continuously in the House until he was elected President in 1880.

During the war Garfield rendered great service in the Military Committee of the House, and after the war ended, when the Committee of Ways and Means became the most important of all committees, he was transferred to that committee; and when a new committee on banking and currency was created he was made its chairman. He was an earnest and generally an aggressive man, but as a leader on the floor he lacked the sternly heroic qualities of Stevens and the brilliant dash of Blaine. With all his great surroundings, however, he stood out in the forefront of the leaders of the party in the popular branch of Congress.

I first met Garfield soon after his appearance in Congress in the fall of 1863, and I met him many scores of times during the war and the desperate political battles over reconstruction. While a preacher of his faith, and with mingled Puritan and Huguenot blood, he had none of the severe qualities of the Puritan. He was always a genial, delightful companion, and I gratefully

remember my many pleasant associations with him. He was unusually frank in conversation, and a very intelligent observer of political events. He was ambitious, as all men are and as all men should be with his opportunities, and in the fall of 1879, when the Legislature was to be chosen to elect a United States Senator, I remember a very interesting and impressive conversation with him on the subject of entering the contest for the Senatorship. Stevens was dead and Blaine was generally expected to leave the House for the Presidency, thus leaving Garfield the undisputed leader of the popular branch of Congress—a position that in times of national peril is the highest popular trust of the nation. Clay won greater honors as commoner during the second war with England than he ever achieved in any of the many lustrous records of his life, and Stevens stands out single and alone as the commoner of our civil war.

Garfield said he believed that the Republicans would carry Ohio; that he could command the Senatorship without a serious struggle, and the result proved that his anticipations were entirely correct, as he was nominated practically without opposition and elected by a large majority. He was in doubt as to the wisdom of making the change from the popular to the more select branch of the national Legislature, and I earnestly urged him to remain in the House, where his leadership was now fully assured, while in the Senate he would be only one of many, with all his ability and experience. His judgment was clearly against the change, but he was human, and the opportunity of advancement was a temptation too great to resist. He would have been not exactly out of place in the Senate, but the different atmosphere and methods which obtain in the two bodies distinctly qualified him for the popular branch and measurably disqualified him for the Senate. He was a popular leader in the House, but when the Senatorship came to him as it did he accepted it, and he is the only man in the history of the Republic who, on the same day, was member of Congress, Senator-elect and President-elect. He was serving in Congress in 1880, had been elected to the Senate in January of that year, and in November was chosen President.

The most memorable political spectacle witnessed since the organization of our Government was exhibited at the Chicago convention in 1880. It was a fight of giants summoned to a

battle royal between Grant and Blaine, and I met Garfield frequently during the protracted sessions of that convention. His State had unanimously declared for the nomination of Sherman, and Sherman and his friends made an exhaustive struggle to make Sherman the compromise candidate, as it was well understood that neither Grant nor Blaine commanded the full majority of the body. Garfield was placed at the head of the Sherman delegation, and made the speech presenting Sherman's name to the body. Conkling had just delivered his great speech presenting the name of Grant, and when Garfield came upon the platform to nominate Sherman he was greeted with thunders of applause that lasted many minutes. He was a man of superb proportions, as eloquent as he was persuasive as an orator, but his address lacked the rugged incisiveness and earnestness that Conkling had exhibited in presenting his chief. It was in the air that a compromise candidate must be chosen in the end, and Garfield certainly expected that the choice would fall upon him. He has never been accused of conspiring in any way to bring about his own nomination, but his speech for Sherman was a beautiful and most impressive plea for peace, thus presenting a sublime contrast to the terribly aggressive eloquence of Conkling.

The battle continued through many days, and at different sessions of the convention the coming of Garfield was always looked for and welcomed by the cheers of the ten thousand people who filled the vast auditorium. I saw him enter the convention at every session, and he always came just before the session opened, when the house was filled to overflowing, and the magnificent stride of his commanding form, with its faultless apparel, always called out the wildest applause from the vast assembly. Among those whose judgment could not be misled by personal interest there was the general impression that Garfield was the logical candidate upon whom the disputing Grant and Blaine gladiators must eventually unite, and Garfield certainly appreciated the situation and expected from the beginning that he would be the candidate. When the stampede came and Garfield was nominated there was a rush from the hall before the ballot was announced, and I was among the jostling newspaper men struggling to reach the telegraph office. Garfield had slipped out of the hall in the confusion, and



just as I got outside of the door I saw him in a carriage, his dark felt hat pulled down over his eyes, accompanied by Governor Foster, of Ohio, who was hurrying Garfield away from the multitude.

I saw Garfield the same evening, and his exultation over so grand a triumph was greatly tempered by the hostile attitude assumed by Conkling, the leader of the Grant forces. The Grant line had not broken, and it was the friends of Blaine who nominated Garfield. Conkling, imperious as a Roman Emperor, could not accommodate himself to defeat, and when I spoke to him later in the evening about the political situation, and what New York would be likely to do as to the Vice Presidency, his answer was quite too sulphurous to be recorded in the public press. When asked by the friends of Garfield to name the candidate for Vice President, Conkling peremptorily and contemptuously refused to do so, and when some of the more considerate members of the New York delegation finally decided to present the name of Chester A. Arthur for the second place on the ticket Conkling gave only a passive assent, and did not appear at the head of his delegation in the convention when the vote was to be taken. Arthur was in the delegation with Conkling, and in Conkling's occasional absence during the protracted sessions acted as chairman, and the uniform courtesy he exhibited in all that he had to say in announcing the vote or in participating in the other proceedings of the convention was in sharp contrast with the imperious manner of Conkling, and won the respect of all the delegates.

Grant was at his home, in Galena, during the sessions of the convention, and he came down to Chicago the morning after his defeat. I met him in the Palmer House, and, while it was probably the greatest disappointment of his life, not a shade of disappointment was visible in the man. On the contrary, I never saw him more genial than he was on that occasion, but, while he maintained his imperturbable spirit to the world, he shared the bitter resentments of Conkling over his sacrifice, and it was there determined that the defeat of Garfield was a political necessity. This attitude was maintained by Grant and Conkling and their immediate followers until late in the campaign. Garfield came on to New York to establish better relations between the Grant people and himself, and, although Garfield stopped at

the same house where Conkling made his home, Conkling did not call upon him and avoided meeting him. At that stage of the campaign there did not seem to be any reasonable hope of the election of Garfield, and had the election been held any time before the 1st of September Hancock would have carried New York and all the doubtful States by large majorities; but Garfield later invited Conkling to visit him in Ohio, and, after a very full consideration of the subject by Conkling with Grant and others, he decided to go, and that visit brought about harmony between the opposition elements of the party.

What conditions were expressed or understood at that conference the world can never know, but Conkling felt that he had at least the assurance of fair play in wielding the power of the Administration. So much harm had been done by the visible opposition of Conkling and Grant to Garfield that it required extraordinary efforts for them to recover their ground, and Grant, for the first and only time in his life, took the stump and made several short but earnest speeches in favor of Garfield's election, while Conkling threw all his great power into the battle, and then saved New York only by the treachery of Tammany.

Had Tammany Hall given an honest support to Hancock he would have carried the Empire State, and that would have made him President; but Hancock was not the man Tammany wanted. They could deal with Conkling when mutual interests demanded it, but Hancock was a thoroughly honest, straightforward, heroic soldier and Tammany justly feared him. What part Conkling played in the Tammany defection is not known, but it is quite probable he was largely responsible for it. The popular vote between Garfield and Hancock was the closest ever cast for President. In the total vote of nine millions, in round numbers, divided between Garfield and Hancock, the majority was less than 10,000. Garfield's election was not questioned in any way, and the 4th of March following, when he was inaugurated President, presented the most imposing pageant ever given in Washington when Hancock, then commander of the army, rode in front of the military procession that conducted Garfield to the Capitol to be qualified as President, and thence back to the White House.

Conkling and Blaine had quarreled when both were in the

House some years before, and that quarrel continued with unabated bitterness until the death of Conkling. Neither ever addressed or recognized the other, and even when they were serving together in the Senate and either had occasion to refer to remarks made by the other, instead of referring to the "gentleman from Maine," or the "gentleman from New York," they would say: "It has been stated on this floor." It was pitiable to see two great intellectual giants like Blaine and Conkling thus exhibiting their personal enmities even on public occasions, but Conkling had been unhorsed by Blaine when both were young and ambitious, and Blaine had done it with the dash and vehemence that he alone could give to popular disputation. While Blaine would gladly have made friends with Conkling, as he told me many times, he never could obtain from any friends of Conkling the assurance that an advance on his part would not be repulsed with contempt. That estrangement caused the quarrel between Garfield and Conkling. Blaine's friends had nominated Garfield, and it was his obvious duty to tender to Blaine the position of premier. Conkling protested, but in vain, and finally informed the President that when the nomination of Blaine came before the Senate, he would not make open opposition, but would be compelled to hold his nose to escape the stench that such an appointment must cause in the Senate.

It is commonly accepted that the nomination of Robertson for Collector of the Port of New York, which was the greatest possible affront to Conkling, was accomplished by Blaine at the head of the Cabinet; but in that Blaine is unjustly judged. Blaine did not advise the appointment of Robertson, and did not know of it until it was made. It was one of the occasions in which the lack of executive attributes and discipline was exhibited by Garfield. He was a great popular leader, but he lacked many of the qualities of a tactful administrator. Robertson was in the delegation at Chicago, and led the minority of the delegates who refused to support Grant, and who in the end supported Garfield; and the man who had thus dared to lock horns with Conkling's imperious spirit could never be forgiven. The result was a blunder on the part of Conkling that only passion could have inspired, and he resigned his seat in the Senate, taking Platt, his associate, with him, hoping to be re-elected by the New York Legislature then in session. Had the election been

held at once it is probable that Conkling and Platt could have won; but the presiding officer of the Senate delayed it a week by failing to make the announcement in time, and that delay was fatal. The result was a contest of some weeks before the Legislature, in which Vice-President Arthur was by the side of Conkling at Albany battling against the President; but the struggle was summarily ended by the assassination of Garfield. Conkling and Platt grew weaker from day to day, and finally had to abandon the field before the death of the President, as he lingered many weeks after the assassin's bullet had stricken him.

Garfield had little opportunity in the brief period in which he served as President to leave any monument of marked credit to his administration. Congress had not been in session, and two months before its regular meeting he died at Long Branch. He thus left no record by which to judge his qualities as the Executive of the great nation. In the White House he gave the same generous welcome to visitors that he had given when among the leaders of the House. He was blest with a most buoyant, hopeful temperament, and had gathered about him at the Capitol a large circle of Ohio friends, who expected to bask in the power of Garfield for eight years. I saw him in the White House several times during his brief stay there. There were no public questions of interest then to discuss, and he had only social duties to perform outside of the scramble for place. Blaine was the master spirit of his Administration, and Garfield was as enthusiastic as Blaine himself. Blaine expected to accomplish great achievements in bringing this country into closer relations with Central and South America, and Garfield looked forward to an era of peace and prosperity, with a record of greatly enlarged commerce, accomplished by his Administration. He had no exacting cares, and he was generally as cheerful as a boy at play. His hopeful temperament was never abated even during his long and always hopeless illness, and when informed by his physician, after the nature of his wound had been ascertained, that there was a chance for his life, he cheerfully answered, "Well, we'll take that chance." After his removal to Long Branch, when all who knew his actual condition knew that his recovery was utterly impossible, the silver lining of hope cheered him until his last moment. He was the second of our

Presidents who fell by the assassin's bullet, and his death spread the dark pall of sorrow over the entire nation.

Mrs. Garfield had no opportunity to exhibit her social qualities in the White House beyond meeting the jostling crowd at the inauguration. Congress was not in session during her brief period as the first lady of the land. After the rush of the inauguration ceremonies she always exercised such generous hospitality as the season would permit, until the 2d of July, when the President was shot, and from that time until the 19th of September she was the devoted nurse of her dying husband. She was eminently fitted for a most successful career as mistress of the White House. Her acquaintance with Garfield began when both were students at school; she was a fitting helpmate in the laborious career he accepted for himself, and she was equal to her part in every distinction that he achieved. The sympathy of the nation for her and her children was promptly displayed after the death of the President by a voluntary popular subscription that reached \$360,000, that was placed in trust for herself and her four sons and one daughter, and in addition, Congress voted the usual annuity of \$5,000 to the widow of a President. She was a woman of gentle and graceful manners, with unusually strong and positive qualities, and the hearty sympathy of the whole people went out to her as she returned to her desolate home in Ohio, clad in the habiliments of woe,

## ARTHUR AND HIS SUCCESSFUL ADMINISTRATION.

No man ever entered the Presidency so profoundly and widely distrusted as Chester Alan Arthur, and no one ever retired from that highest civil trust of the world more generally respected, alike by political friend and foe. When the death of Garfield called him to the succession, by the mandate of the Constitution, he was known outside of his immediate circle of personal friends as a mere politician, and not of the most creditable school. His active participation in politics in New York; his factional struggles, which attracted the attention of the nation; his conflict with President Hayes and Secretary Sherman, which resulted in his removal from the Collectorship of New York charged with the abuse of his official power to serve political ends, and his defeat in this fight with his own party Administration made it only natural that he should be generally accepted as a politician who could not rise to the dignity of statesmanship, and who if charged with high political authority would pervert it to serve personal or partisan ends.

Those who knew Arthur in his every-day life and were attracted to him by his manly personal attributes fully appreciated the wrong that was done to him. The whole record of his life shows that he was a man of positive convictions, of unswerving integrity, and was ever ready to sacrifice himself in demanding the maintenance of his faith. He was born in the chilly mountains of Vermont, and, like Garfield, resolutely worked his way to the attainment of a collegiate education, in which he graduated with exceptional honors. While devoting all his spare hours to teaching, he was enabled by his own efforts to gratify his ambition for accomplished scholarship, and when quite a young man he engaged in the practice of law in New York City. His first important case was one that an ambitious young lawyer looking only to his own advancement would never have undertaken. It was the memorable Lemmon slave

case. The feeling against the abolition sentiment of that day was so violent that Gerrit Smith had been mobbed at Utica in attempting to form an anti-slavery society, and William Lloyd Garrison had been dragged through the streets of Boston by a mob and found protection by lodgment in prison.

The Lemmon slave case was the first test made by Southern slave owners to force the recognition of the right to hold slaves *in transitu* in free States. The compromise measures of 1850 tended to the establishment of this theory, and the Dred Scott decision, which followed in a few years, was regarded by the Democratic leaders as settling the slavery issue. The Dred Scott decision was foreshadowed in Buchanan's inaugural address, and the advocates of slavery extension believed that they had then attained not only the right to carry slaves into the territories, but also to take slaves in transit into and through free States. Jonathan Lemmon, a wealthy planter of Virginia, brought several of his slaves into New York on their way to Texas, and a writ of habeas corpus was issued by Judge Paine, of the Superior Court, on the petition of a free colored citizen of the State, alleging that the slaves were made free by being brought by their masters into a State where slavery was unlawful. The Court decided that the slaves were free, and the Lemmon slave case suddenly became an important political factor. The Legislature of Virginia instructed its District Attorney to carry the issue to the highest court of New York, where the freedom of the slaves was affirmed, and Arthur, then the junior counsel for the slaves, personally appeared before the Legislature and the Governor of New York and secured the intervention of the State to defend their freedom.

Arthur did not argue the case, but such men as Attorney-General Hoffman, Culver, Blunt and Evarts were engaged on the same side, and Charles O'Connor joined the Attorney-General of Virginia in support of the cause of the master. He also brought the first action against the street car lines of New York for ejecting colored persons. He rose rapidly at the bar, and took a very active part in politics. He served on the staff of Governor Morgan during the civil war, and devoted himself assiduously to a very important but generally unrecognized service that is necessary in the achievements of our army. He was secretary of the confidential New York meeting of a number of

the Governors of the loyal States in June, 1862, which resulted in the celebrated Altoona conference that called upon the President to summon 300,000 additional soldiers to the field. His arduous duties in organizing and equipping the New York soldiers were so faithfully performed that his Democratic successor paid the highest tribute to his ability and integrity. He continued prominent in the practice of the law, and in all political movements until 1871, when he was appointed Collector of the Port of New York by President Grant, and confirmed by the Senate without objection. Four years later, in 1875, he was reappointed and confirmed at once without referring the nomination to a committee—a courtesy that is very rarely extended to any excepting those who have been members of the Senate.

Arthur was a devoted friend of Conkling, as was Alonzo B. Cornell, then naval officer of New York, and in 1876 Conkling made his great battle for the Presidential nomination. Conkling was one of the greatest of Republican leaders, and no man ever had more devoted followers, among whom were Arthur and Cornell; and after the fierce battle between Blaine, Bristow and the Administration forces Conkling's supporters went to Hayes and gave him the nomination. Cornell was a prominent candidate for Governor the same year, with Evarts and Morgan as competitors, Evarts representing the reform Republicans under the leadership of Curtis. Cornell withdrew and gave Morgan the nomination, and Hayes called Evarts to the head of his Cabinet. Evarts represented the Republican sentiment that was at variance with the aims and purposes of Conkling, and, as Hayes favored extreme civil service reform, Collector Arthur and Naval Officer Cornell, by their active participation in politics, had openly offended the reform civil service policy. It was not charged that they had been faithless in their official duties, but Hayes, who was an ideal civil service reform radical, joined Evarts in an assault upon Arthur and Cornell.

A commission was appointed to investigate the management of the Custom House, and it reported Arthur and Cornell as offenders against the civil service policy of the Administration. The President thereupon nominated Theodore Roosevelt for Collector and J. Bradford Prince for Naval Officer, but Conkling came to the rescue of his friends and rejected the new nominations. When Congress adjourned, some months later, the Presi-



dent suspended Arthur and Cornell, and appointed Edward A. Merritt as Collector and Silas W. Burt as Naval Officer, and their nominations were sent to the Senate when it met the following December. Secretary Sherman sent to the Senate a detailed statement of the reasons which led to the removal of Arthur and Cornell, to which Arthur replied in defense of his administration; and after a controversy of three months Conkling was unhorsed by the confirmation of Merritt and Burt. This battle ended on the 3d of February, 1879, and on the 3d of September following Cornell was nominated by the Republicans for Governor of the State and triumphantly elected, and one year later Arthur was nominated for Vice President at Chicago, was elected, and thereby became President of the United States.

I had met Arthur only in a casual way at national conventions, and several times in New York, until the meeting of the Republican convention at Chicago in 1880, where he was nominated for Vice President. The sessions of that convention extended over some ten days, and it was one of the most imposing spectacles I have ever witnessed. It was the great battle between Grant and Blaine, and the ablest leaders of both sides were summoned to the conflict. Arthur was second in the New York delegation, and acted as chairman in the absence of Conkling. He had not the remotest idea that he might be named for Vice President. He was heartily devoted to his chief, Conkling, and to Conkling's chief, Grant, and they were confident of winning the battle until they were defeated in the preliminary struggle on the rules, whereby delegations instructed by their respective States to vote as a unit were given the right to vote their individual preferences regardless of their home instructions. Had this rule not prevailed Grant would have been nominated. It lost him many votes, especially in New York and Pennsylvania, and Robertson, who was appointed to the Collectorship by Garfield and made an impassable chasm between Conkling and Garfield, led the minority of the New York delegation in defiance of Conkling and polled one-fourth more of the delegation for Blaine.

Conkling was not an approachable man, except to his few very intimate acquaintances, and the newspaper men found Arthur, who was entirely familiar with the inner movements of Conkling, not only a most agreeable companion, but ready to furnish them all the information that he was warranted in giving out. I had

frequent conferences with him during that long struggle, and my prejudices against him were greatly tempered by the manly qualities he always exhibited. No one could be in close touch with him at any time without seeing that he was a man of great ability, of severe modesty, and thoroughly straightforward in all his political movements. During the whole proceedings of the convention Conkling was offensively imperious. He never announced the vote of his State without giving the minority vote with a sneer or with an offensive remark. On several occasions when Conkling was otherwise engaged Arthur acted as chairman, and in announcing the vote his courteous manner was a most agreeable contrast to the offensive methods of his chief. When defeat came for the Grant forces Conkling was irreconcilable, and contemptuously refused to consider the question of presenting a Grant man for second place on the ticket. The more considerate men in the delegation finally took hold of the question and named Arthur for Vice President—the one man to whom Conkling could not possibly object. He gave his passive assent, but took no further active part in the proceedings of the convention. Arthur was nominated practically without a contest, as he was known to be the most prominent representative of the Grant forces, next to Conkling, in New York.

When Garfield and Arthur were inaugurated President and Vice President it was generally expected that there would be harmony between the Garfield and Conkling elements, and Arthur certainly did everything in his power to maintain it; but Conkling was ever suspicious of Garfield, and when he finally slapped Conkling in the face by the nomination of Robertson to the New York Collectors'hip it became a war to the death. Conkling was just the man to fight such a battle regardless of consequences, with his ears closed to every suggestion of compromise. He attempted to assert his power over the President by resigning his seat in the Senate, depending upon the New York Legislature for re-election, but he there met only keen disappointment and disastrous defeat; and the long-continued battle practically ended on the day that the assassin's bullet prostrated President Garfield. Arthur had manfully stood by his friend in his hopeless struggle until the assassin had intervened between the contending gladiators, and when the tragedy of the Washington depot ended in the death of Garfield, at Long

Branch, Arthur quietly summoned the New York Chief Justice to his home to administer to him the oath of office of President of the United States.

I shall never forget the day, July 2, 1881, when, sitting on a veranda at the summit of the Alleghenies, a telegraph boy ran wildly among the visitors who were enjoying the cool breezes, announcing that President Garfield had been shot at the railroad depot in Washington, and that he could not survive. The horror of the second assassination of the President of the United States within a period of sixteen years was simply appalling, and the public distrust that attached to Vice President Arthur seemed to leave the dark pall that hung over the nation without even a silver lining. The death of Garfield meant according to the general acceptance of the public, a radical political or factional revolution, and it was generally assumed that it made Conkling President in fact, as Arthur was presumed to be his submissive follower. This distrust was measurably justified by Arthur's manly devotion to Conkling. He was at open war with the President, and he was censured for degrading the office of Vice President to the position of appearing before the New York Legislature as a solicitor of votes for Conkling. Values were at once seriously disturbed, and there was general apprehension that the Republican party would be disintegrated by the vindictive mastery of faction in the administration of the Government. Conkling had many wounds to revenge, and it was reasonable to assume that Arthur would be his willing instrument in all his resentful purposes.

From the day that Arthur became President of the United States all the inherent great qualities of the man asserted themselves. When he arrived at Washington the oath of office was again administered to him by Chief Justice Waite, and he gave out a brief inaugural address that did much to quiet the general apprehensions of the country. The closing sentence of that address was in the following well-considered words, which he maintained with unfaltering fidelity: "Summoned to these high duties and responsibilities, and profoundly conscious of their magnitude and gravity, I assume the trust imposed by the Constitution relying for aid on Divine guidance and the virtue, patriotism and intelligence of the American people."

Our American Presidents have left many monuments of

heroism before which the heroism of military chieftains must pale. Jefferson's acquisition of Louisiana, that was accomplished against the general sentiment of his own party and of the country; Jackson's incisive dealing with nullification in South Carolina; Lincoln's immortal Emancipation Proclamation, and Cleveland's patriotic defense of the national credit against a repudiation Senate and House, and the suppression of anarchy by the military power of the Government, all stand out in distinct proof that "Peace hath her victories more renowned than war;" but I doubt whether any President ever performed a more heroic role in simple obedience to public duty and against such oppressive complications than President Arthur exhibited in asserting himself as President with duties higher and holier than the interests of even the dearest friend. The first lesson that he had to teach was that he, and not Conkling, was President, and he did it in the most unostentatious way possible, resulting in the alienation of the friendship of his recent chief. He changed his Cabinet with the exception of Secretary of War Lincoln, and he could not do less with a Cabinet that had Blaine at the head and in which Attorney General MacVeagh was an important factor; but he never swerved from the acceptance of the whole responsibility imposed upon him by a great national bereavement, and no other President has surpassed him in unswerving fidelity to every public duty. He publicly testified his appreciation of Conkling by nominating him as Justice of the Supreme Court, but he doubtless did it with the full knowledge that it would not be accepted. It was declined, of course, and thereafter Conkling was without interest in the Administration of the President who had so long been his protege and faithful supporter.

Almost any man even in the Presidency would have temporized with such an exacting dictator as Conkling by his side, and thereby lost the confidence of the country without serving his friend; but Arthur quietly devoted himself to winning the approval of the nation by thoroughly deserving it. From that line he never departed; he was, therefore, eminently successful. He was one of the most delightful of our Presidents to visit at the White House, and while always maintaining every degree of dignity that should obtain in the office, he welcomed visitors with open heart, and all who met him learned not only to respect but to love him. Slowly but surely he grew in public trust, and

long before he retired from his high office he commanded not only the unbounded confidence of the great business interests of the country, but the universal respect of the whole people, regardless of their political faith. Like all men who have reached the Presidency, with very rare exceptions, he desired to succeed himself, but Blaine had the enthusiastic support of the Republican people, had been defeated in two national conventions when he was the second highest candidate, and when his friends believed that he should have been successful, and Arthur fell in the Chicago convention of 1884, not because his Administration was not heartily approved by his party, but because the Plumed Knight of Maine could not longer be postponed as the party candidate with the consent of the more vital elements of the party organization.

Whether Arthur could have been elected in 1884 when Blaine was defeated is an open question. Conkling defeated Blaine by throwing the controlling State of New York against him, and it is quite likely that he would in like manner have defeated Arthur. Blaine made the most remarkable campaign for himself that had ever been made by any Presidential candidate, excepting Douglas, and that has ever been made since, excepting the two brilliant but fruitless campaigns of Bryan, and it is quite probable that Blaine's magnetic personality and brilliant campaigning brought himself nearer an election than could have been accomplished by Arthur. When Blaine was nominated, Arthur promptly telegraphed to Blaine his hearty congratulations, and gave a cordial and faithful support to the party candidate; but Blaine was doomed to be the first in the line of Republican candidates for the Presidency to be defeated in the period of nearly a quarter of a century.

I last saw Arthur on the evening of the day on which he retired from the Presidency. He was the guest of honor at a dinner given by one of his Senatorial friends, and I was painfully impressed by the fact that on that occasion he lacked the delightful companionable qualities which he usually exhibited. He was too much of a philosopher to exhibit depression because his days of power were ended, and later in the evening, when most of the company had departed, I spoke of it to the host, who then informed me that Arthur's health was seriously if not hopelessly broken, and that he was suffering from what was

believed to be an incurable malady. He returned to New York and announced that he could be consulted on legal questions at his office; but his vitality gradually wasted away, and he was rarely seen on public occasions. On the 18th of November, 1886, less than two years after he left Washington, he died suddenly of apoplexy, and he fell in the race universally beloved and lamented.

Arthur entered the Presidency as a widower, his wife having died in January of the year in which he was elected Vice-President, but his sister, Mrs. Mary A. McElroy, was mistress of the White House during the social portions of the year, and acquitted herself with exceptional ability. She was quiet and unassuming in her social life, as was her brother in his great office, and the hospitality of the White House was dispensed with that gentle dignity that only a highly accomplished and thoroughly womanly woman can display.

## CLEVELAND'S THREE CONTESTS AND TWO ADMINISTRATIONS.

The political contests which brought Grover Cleveland and Benjamin Harrison into the Presidency are yet fresh in the recollections of the people, and the leading measures of national policy with which their respective Administrations were identified need not be elaborately discussed; but some personal incidents interwoven with their official careers may be interesting to the general reader. Our public men are not judged wholly by their public acts. The strong or weak personality of a man called to high official position has much to do in shaping the public judgment of his official qualities. To know our great men as they really are they must be seen in the inner circles of their daily lives, and no man has ever reached the Presidency without having called out the most searching scrutiny as to his personal attributes.

Many men thoughtlessly speak of Mr. Cleveland as a man of destiny, but with all his opportunities any man of less distinctive personal qualities would never have attained the success that he achieved. Fortuitous circumstance aids most of our successful public men at some crucial period of their lives, such as the fortunate nomination of Cleveland for Governor in 1882, when the Republican party of New York was hopelessly divided. Even with so reputable and in every way worthy an opponent as Mr. Folger, then Secretary of the Treasury, the State gave Cleveland over 192,000 majority. That did much to make him a hopeful candidate for President, but if he had not been the sternly honest and resolutely faithful man in the discharge of all public duties that he proved as Governor, he never would have been President of the United States.

Like Arthur and Harrison, Cleveland was the architect of his own fortune, and was indebted to his own efforts alone for the tolerable education he attained. Beyond the scholastic advantages of an academy where his Presbyterian preacher father was

located, he had no opportunities for advancement beyond his own tireless studies. At 17 years of age he was a clerk and assistant teacher in the New York Blind Asylum, and later on thought himself doing well in assisting in the preparation of a book at \$10 a week. He entered a Buffalo law office in 1855 as a clerk and copyist, but at once devoted himself to the study of law, and in 1859 was admitted to the Bar. After his admission he spent several years with his preceptor, acting as clerk and assistant at a salary beginning at \$600, and annually advanced to \$1,000, out of which he supported his widowed mother. He soon attracted attention as an exceptionally well-equipped lawyer. He was always a man of positive convictions and was earnestly devoted to the Democratic cause, although never an obtrusive candidate for party honors. He was nominated for District Attorney in 1865, when only 28 years of age, but was defeated. Five years later he was elected Sheriff, and in 1881 he was elected as Mayor of the city. While serving as Mayor he was nominated and elected Governor, and while serving as Governor he was nominated and elected President of the United States.

Cleveland was a reluctant candidate for President in 1884. His friends had many consultations with him on the subject, but he uniformly discouraged rather than favored the movement. Mr. Manning, who commanded the battle resulting in Cleveland's nomination for President with consummate skill, and who served during part of Cleveland's first term as Secretary of the Treasury, gave me a detailed account of the reluctance on the part of Cleveland that confronted them in organizing to make him the candidate for President. He had little knowledge of the comprehensive campaign shrewdly planned and as shrewdly executed by Manning to win at Chicago. The Democrats had not elected a President since the success of the Republican party in 1860, although Tilden had received a popular majority in 1876 without finally succeeding in winning a majority in the Electoral College. He regarded the contest as doubtful at best, and he was perfectly content to serve out the term of office to which the people of his State had called him. He had never been intimate with the Democratic leaders of national fame, but he was scrupulously attentive to his public and private duties, traveled but little, and had the greatest aver-



sion to anything like ornamental parading in politics. I believe that he never was in Washington until he appeared there to be inaugurated President, with the single exception of a visit there in connection with a case he had in the Supreme Court.

Cleveland's nomination in Chicago was accomplished against the most aggressive opposition of Tammany Hall, led by the veteran John Kelly. Tammany was in absolute control of the city of New York, where it required nearly 100,000 Democratic majority to give the electoral vote of the State to a Democratic candidate; but Manning and his associates, who were in the front of the battle for Cleveland, compelled Tammany to submit to have its votes in the convention cast for Cleveland under the unit rule. I had seen Kelly on several important political occasions, but never saw him so wildly excited as he was when he was defeated in his desperate struggle to prevent the enforcement of the unit rule that made him cast his vote for Cleveland, after he had vehemently protested against that nomination. Kelly appealed to the convention until he became so hoarse that he could not be heard beyond his own delegation, but the hand of fate was upon him and he was compelled to bow to the inevitable. Manning had a clear majority for Cleveland at his command, but he lacked the necessary two-thirds vote; and I participated in the arrangement with Manning by which Randall, the Pennsylvania candidate for President, was brought hurriedly to Chicago, and after a personal conference at which only Randall, and Manning were present, an arrangement was made by which Randall's support went to Cleveland on the second ballot, and that decided his nomination.

I never met Cleveland until after his election to the Presidency. An appointment was made for me to visit him at Albany within a month after his election. I arrived there late in the evening, and found him awaiting me in the executive office of the Capitol. The first impressions that Cleveland made upon an intelligent observer were precisely the same as would be made in a hundred later interviews. He was always the same quiet, unassuming, straightforward, sternly honest and entirely frank man in all things of which he could speak with freedom. Men have claimed that Lincoln, who was equally honest with Cleveland, at times dissembled and deceived those who conferred with him, but it was the result of Lincoln's extreme caution.

The unwarranted misapprehension of his expressions led to disappointment. Lincoln was a man of variable temperament; at times bright and jolly; at other times sad and painfully impressive, but Cleveland was the same under all circumstances and conditions. Like Lincoln, he was a comparative stranger to the public men of the nation, and was compelled to choose a Cabinet most of whom he had never even seen; but he gave the same careful study to the new political conditions which environed him, consulted freely with those whose judgment he trusted, and when he formed his conclusions he was immovable. I formed then precisely the same impressions of Cleveland that I cherished throughout the long and rather intimate acquaintance with him during his two Administrations and the three memorable campaigns in which he was the central figure. None could meet him and converse freely with him without fully understanding that he was a man of purest purposes and of unfaltering devotion to his convictions of right. In that conference he discussed the situation in Pennsylvania as well as the situation generally, and it was not until after the midnight hour that I bade him good night. I had no favorites to press upon him for any position, and that probably brought me into closer personal connection with him during his later career than could have been obtained had I annoyed him with the claims of place-men.

Cleveland entered the White House as a bachelor, and he was a most delightful host for a late evening chat. I have many times gone to the White House by his appointment after ten o'clock at night, and often passed the midnight hour with him. He was a tireless worker, gave more attention to details than any President we have ever had, and hard work seemed to agree with him. He was a delightful conversationalist when alone with those to whom he could speak with comparative freedom, and the one thing that was always taught in his discussions of any particular subject was his conscientious devotion to the right. He did not please his party because he unexpectedly accepted the civil service policy that was declared to be the Democratic faith. All parties believe in civil service when their power has been overthrown, and all party leaders, as a rule, seek to evade an honest civil service policy when they come into power and the other side has the offices. Cleveland believed in civil service re-

form, and he had the courage to inaugurate it by the distinct declaration that no capable and faithful federal officer commissioned for a term of years should be removed until his term expired. I saw the tempest that this position made among the scores of placemen, but he stood as resolutely as the rock of Gibraltar, and since then no President has departed from the policy he established.

Cleveland's record as President stands out as exceptionally great in several particulars. About the first of December, 1887, when Congress was just about to meet, I spent several hours with him in company with John G. Carlisle. It was Saturday evening, and Congress was to meet on the following Monday and elect Carlisle Speaker of the House. He gave me a hint of his memorable tariff message that cost him his re-election, and I very earnestly appealed to him to change his message, not because it did not state what was true and what the country should know, but because it would certainly defeat him the following year for re-election. That State paper, it will be remembered, although the regular annual message of the President, discussed but a single question, that of the tariff, thus emphasizing the conviction of the President that all other national issues were secondary to the question of a reduction of taxes and expenditures. There was a large surplus in the Treasury, a large portion of which was needlessly exacted from the industry, trade and commerce of the people, and the large revenues had logically created profligacy.

Cleveland believed it to be his duty to call a halt, and while he confessed that it would impair his chances for re-election, I shall never forget the quiet firmness with which he declared that it was a duty that he should perform to the nation, and that it must be performed regardless of personal consequences to himself. The message was delivered just as he had prepared it, and while up to that time the Republican leaders cherished little or no hope of defeating Cleveland's re-election, from that time on his defeat seemed to them to be quite possible. True, he was finally defeated by the treachery of Tammany, as he lost his election by the failure to receive the electoral vote of New York State. On the same election day that the Democrats elected their Governor by nearly 20,000 they defeated Cleveland by nearly 15,000. I met him frequently during the campaign, and

found him hopeful, but not confident of success. He always spoke freely in vindication of his tariff message, believing that it was of much more importance to the country that that message should be delivered to Congress and the people than that he should be elected President. I doubt whether any President other than Cleveland would have made the personal sacrifice he did to perform what he accepted as a duty to the country.

Cleveland's defeat in 1888 was accepted by many of the Democratic leaders as finally disposing of him as a national factor in the Democratic party. They did not love him because, while he was an earnest Democratic partisan within his own perceived lines of duty, he did not enthuse over the clamor of Democrats who importuned him for the spoils of power. Another instance of his devotion to his convictions was given during his retirement, when the free silver issue was running away with his party. He wrote and published a thoroughly frank letter antagonizing the free silver theory, that at once eliminated him from the list of Presidential candidates in the estimation of a large portion of the Democratic party that was distempered by the cheap-money policy; but when the great crisis came, in 1892, and the Democratic party had to choose its leader and its flag, the Democratic leaders were compelled by the overwhelming sentiment of the Democratic people to assent to his third nomination.

I never saw a more desperate contest than was witnessed in the Chicago convention of that year. It was a fearfully discordant and almost riotously belligerent body. Bourke Cockran's speech against Cleveland is immortal in our political history. It is worthy to be ranked among the speeches of Ingersoll nominating Blaine, Dougherty nominating Hancock and Conkling nominating Grant, and it was cheered to the echo by the desperately determined opponents of Cleveland. Not only Tammany but the entire New York delegation presumed to represent the pivotal State of the battle aggressively and vindictively opposed Cleveland's nomination. An appeal to the delegates of the convention against Cleveland's nomination was presented, signed by the entire New York delegation, but after a battle that lasted until far on in the morning hours a ballot was reached, and Cleveland was nominated on the first roll call by a few votes more than the necessary two-thirds.

Had Cleveland failed in that ballot he would have been de-

feated, as many who were compelled to vote for him because of the positive Democratic sentiment that demanded his nomination, would gladly have deserted him. The temper of the convention was shown by its absolute control by his opponents in all things excepting only his own nomination. The candidate for Vice President was nominated by his opponents, and the platform was made specially objectionable by the same influences; but with all this Democratic hostility the country came to the support of Cleveland, not because of personal distrust of Harrison, but because his party, that was greater than himself, had wasted the surplus and imposed increased taxes upon the people. A half-dozen new pocket States of the West, created by Harrison, came back with their electoral votes to mock him, and the cheap-money sentiment that had become so potent in both the great parties proved an aid rather than a hindrance to Cleveland; because it divided the Republicans of the West. The result was his election to a second term by overwhelming popular and electoral majorities.

Cleveland's second Administration was simply a continuation of the policy that ruled him during his first term. New questions arose of the greatest importance, but he met them all from precisely the same standpoint and with the same patriotic purpose that always distinguished him in his public career. When the new Congress met the Democrats had an apparent majority in the Senate and an overwhelming majority in the House, but the Democrats of both branches were so terribly honeycombed with the doctrine of cheap money that the nation was brought to the very verge of repudiation. The Republicans, while less disturbed by the free silver and cheap-money theory, were far from united in favor of maintaining a sound financial policy. It was only with the greatest difficulty and after an exhaustive battle that the bill was passed stopping the monthly purchase of silver for free coinage; and when the gold balance fell to a point that threatened the credit of the nation and its greenbacks it was impossible to bring Congress to an appreciation of the highest of duties for the maintenance of the national credit.

Cleveland's party was controlled in both branches by the cheap-money sentiment, but he rose to the occasion and promptly and emphatically notified Congress that the national

credit must be maintained. Fortunately he had authority to sell bonds to maintain the gold reserve, but those bonds were payable in "coin," which might be construed to mean either silver or gold, and the 4 per cent. bonds that he was authorized to issue would not have been as acceptable on the market as a 3 per cent. gold bond. He earnestly appealed to Congress to authorize the issue of gold bonds to maintain the national credit, showing that if he were compelled to sell 4 per cent. coin bonds the loss to the Treasury in one transaction would amount to nearly \$20,000,000. Congress turned a deaf ear to his appeal, and he resolutely maintained the credit of the republic by selling bonds in face of a Congress that could be justly classed as inclined to repudiation, and maintained the credit of the country in the front rank of the civilized nations of the world.

Again, when anarchy came in Chicago and life and property became the plaything of a mob inspired by organized anarchists who had the sympathy of the Governor of the State, and the commerce and mails of the nation were halted by violence, Cleveland came to the front, and in a single order of a few lines effaced forever the last dregs of State sovereignty that would make the safety of the commerce of the nation dependent upon the power of a State. It is just what Harrison would have done, but it would have been in accord with the teachings of Harrison's party. Cleveland did it against the teachings of his own party, and established the policy of supreme national authority that can never be departed from while the republic lives. These acts of Cleveland were simply in accord with the established purposes of his life, and he stands before the country and the world today commanding the respect of all good citizens for the courage he exhibited in times of severest trial, when the safety of the credit of the nation and the protection of the public peace demanded the most heroic measures regardless of political teachings.

His attitude in the Venezuela dispute with England startled the country like a thunder clap from an unclouded sky, and he was severely criticised by those who felt the disturbed business conditions of the country; but he reached a pacific adjustment in accordance with his own convictions of the right, and who today does not honor that feature of his Administration? Many

assumed that he had precipitated the issue with England to serve political interests, and that the permanent tranquillity of the business of the country might be very seriously affected. Some weeks before the final solution of the issue I was on my way South, to be absent for a month or more, and called to see the President, to find, if possible, some reason for allaying the apprehension that was shared by all because of the Venezuela dispute. He spoke very frankly on the subject, not for publication, and I soon found that he not only understood the issue perfectly in all the details, but that he was absolutely confident from the beginning of the peaceful result that was attained. He assured me that I could dismiss all distrust on the subject, but could not give publicity to the assurance, and I well remember the emphasis with which he added that the peaceful solution that was certain to be reached would make the people of both England and the United States cherish greatly increased respect for each other.

Cleveland was the second President who was married while an incumbent of the White House. Tyler became a widower in 1842, more than a year after he had become President, and in June, 1844, during the last year of his Presidency, he married Miss Gardiner in New York City. Cleveland was the only President married in the White House, where, on the 2d of June, 1886, Frances Folsom, the daughter of his old friend and partner at the Buffalo Bar, became his wife. She was the youngest of all the many who have become the first lady of the land, being some two years younger than Betty Bliss, the daughter of General Taylor, and she stands out single and alone as the one woman who completed the entire circle of womanly loveliness as mistress of the White House. She was young, beautiful, accomplished and thoroughly genial, and in all her generous social intercourse and delightful hospitality she has never provoked criticism. Today she stands before the country and the world as the model mother and woman of the nation. In the fierce campaign of 1888 I had many opportunities of discussing the political situation with Cleveland, and, while he was as nearly indifferent as possible to the result so far as it affected him personally, I know that the greatest sorrow of both the battle and defeat were because of the wounds the campaign defamation brought to "the dear little woman," as he always spoke of

her, with his ordinary, rather sober face, kindled with affection. She was by his side in the White House when the lightning bore him the message of defeat in November, 1888, and while the bright and hopeful eye was moistened by the sadness of the disaster, she bowed in sweet and queenly dignity to the same omnipotent will that four years later reinstated her as the most beloved first lady of the land.



## HARRISON'S VICTORY AND DEFEAT.

Benjamin Harrison, the twenty-third President of the United States, was the second lineal descendant of a former President who succeeded to the Chief Magistracy of the Republic. John Quincy Adams, son of ex-President John Adams, who was then living, was elected President by the House of Representatives in 1825, and his son, Charles Francis Adams, narrowly escaped being the Liberal Republican candidate for President instead of Greeley in 1872. He led Greeley on most of the ballots until the last, and if nominated might have been elected, as the revolt against Grant was very powerful; but an overwhelming reaction came as the election approached because of the uncertainty of the financial policy of Greeley. Benjamin Harrison was the grandson of President William Henry Harrison, who was elected over Van Buren in 1840, and who died only a little more than a month after his inauguration. John Scott Harrison, the father of Benjamin Harrison, attained considerable distinction in politics, taking high rank as a member of Congress from Ohio, in which position he served four years.

The Harrisons were not born to fortune, as the elder Harrison held the position of Clerk of Courts of Cincinnati when elected to the Presidency, and Benjamin in early life worked with his father on the farm, enjoying only the scant educational advantages of the log schoolhouse. By severe economy he found his way into Farmers' College, in Cincinnati, and, after two years of preparatory study there, he entered Miami University, at Oxford, where he graduated in 1852, standing fourth in his class. The strong attachment formed for Miss Caroline L. Scott when he was at college resulted in his marriage when he was a law student, before he attained his majority. In 1854, one year after his marriage, he followed the star of empire westward, and located in Indianapolis, then the capital of a primitive Western State, possessing little wealth, but every prospect of rapid advancement. He began housekeeping in a cheap little cottage

without means beyond his own very scant earnings, and was glad to receive a very small salary to add to his very limited income by acting as crier for the United States Court, as few fees in those days exceeded a \$5 bill. He was a tireless student, and, with his strong intellectual qualities, he rapidly advanced at the bar, but just when he had acquired a practice that gave him some profit beyond his frugal living expenses, civil war came. In 1862 he was mustered into service, as second lieutenant of the Seventieth Indiana Volunteers; one week thereafter he was commissioned as captain, and before the regiment left for the field he was commissioned as Colonel. Within a year he was in command of a brigade, and on the 8th of June, 1865, he was mustered out of service along with his command. He participated as regimental or brigade commander in all of the battles fought by Sherman in his great campaign to Atlanta, and was part of Sherman's command that fell back from Atlanta when Sherman started for the sea, thus enabling Harrison to command a brigade in the battle of Nashville. Later he joined General Sherman in North Carolina in command of a brigade, and was present when Johnston surrendered to Sherman on the 26th of April, 1865. He was breveted Brigadier General "for ability and manifest energy and gallantry in command of a brigade." Had Harrison been more of a politician and less of a soldier he would probably have been promoted much more rapidly, as he was admittedly one of the best brigade commanders in Sherman's army; but he was as modest as he was heroic and skillful, and he was a stranger to the sinuous ways by which less competent and meritorious soldiers were advanced to high commands. He returned from the war universally honored as one of the most gallant and illustrious of Indiana soldiers from civil life.

Harrison, like Cleveland, was a strong partisan, but not a strong partisan in the sense in which the term is generally understood. He was a very positive Republican in his convictions, and there were very few in Indiana on either side in those days whose political convictions were not of the most positive nature. The political battles of Indiana not only before the war, but for many years thereafter, were among the most bitter and desperate witnessed by any State. Indiana was regarded as fairly debatable in politics, and great leadership was developed on both

sides. During the war and until its great issues were settled Harrison was as emphatic in his political utterances as were his opponents. He made his first appearance as a political candidate in 1860, when he was nominated for the office of Reporter of the Supreme Court on the same ticket with Henry S. Lane for Governor and Oliver P. Morton for Lieutenant Governor. It was well understood that if the Republicans succeeded in carrying the State ticket and Legislature, Lane would be elected to the Senate and Morton succeed as Governor, and that programme was carried out, as Lane was elected Senator practically without opposition, and Morton, one of the ablest of all the national Republican leaders, became Governor of the State, and after serving two terms was elected to the Senate, where he remained until his death.

When Harrison went to the field with his regiment he accepted the offer of some professional brethren to perform the duties of the office of Reporter in his absence, so that the small emoluments of the position should go to the payment of the debt upon his humble home. He had been elected for the term of four years, but in 1862 the Democrats assumed that his office was vacated by his acceptance of a position in the army, and nominated a Democrat to succeed him. The Republicans denied that there was any vacancy and presented no competitor, and after the election a Democratic Supreme Court divided on party lines and decided that Harrison's office was vacated by his enlistment. In 1864 he was unanimously renominated and re-elected by a large majority, and on his return from the war he served out his full term as Reporter.

Harrison was not a politician in taste or inclination; he loved study and retirement and he made little effort to popularize himself. He was kind and gentle in his intercourse with all who came in contact with him, but he possessed none of the arts which men so often employ to win popular favor. He believed also in honest politics, and with the political demoralization that was inevitable from civil war Harrison had little sympathy. Without being in active opposition, he was gradually but visibly estranged from the desperate and at times revolutionary methods adopted by Governor Morton, and he was not regarded as in the line of political promotion; but in 1876, when the dominant power of the party had presented Godlove S. Orth as the

candidate for Governor, whose political record provoked severe and just criticism, and finally compelled his retirement from the ticket, it became a necessity for the leaders to present a candidate in his stead whose hands were so clean that none could question his integrity. With one accord the despairing leaders turned to Harrison and summoned him to take the head of the ticket with the hope of saving the party from defeat. Harrison, ever obedient to the call of duty, accepted the nomination and made the contest one of the memorable struggles which so often convulsed that State. He was little known to the people personally, as he had rarely been among them on public occasions, and he had been proclaimed a kid-gloved aristocrat, thus sharply defining the contrast between Harrison and his competitor, who was then a Democratic Congressman known as "Blue Jeans" Williams, and who represented the farming class and possessed great ability and shrewdness as a political leader.

The political tide was against the Republicans, and Harrison was defeated in October, although leading his party vote, and in November the State was carried for Tilden against Hayes. Although defeated as a candidate for Governor, all appreciated the fact that he had fallen with his face to the foe, and after having made a battle royal for his cause, the Republican people of the State had learned to appreciate the able Republican champion who had been quietly shelved for many years. Four years later, when the Republicans regained the State and carried the Legislature, Harrison was elected to the Senate practically without a contest. There were plenty who desired his defeat even beyond those who coveted the place, but the Republican sentiment of the State was so overwhelmingly in favor of Harrison that all had to bow. As a Senator he was always dignified and able in discussion, but made little effort to win the favor of his associates beyond an unfaltering devotion to his public duties. It was a notable fact that in 1888, when he was nominated for the Presidency, he was not heartily supported by a majority of his Republican associates in the Senate, but all of them accorded to him the highest measure of ability and unblemished public and private integrity.

My first meeting with Harrison was at the Republican National Convention of 1880, when he was at the head of the Indiana delegation. That convention was exceptionally able, and

will be ever remembered in the history of our national politics as the great battle of giants marshaled under the banners of Grant and Blaine. In all the many national conventions I have witnessed I never saw one so ably led. Logan spoke for Illinois, Garfield for Ohio, Harrison for Indiana, Conkling for New York; and only great men could be heard in that, the greatest political battle ever witnessed in a national council. Had Harrison been more magnetic in character it is quite probable he would have been among the possibilities when it came to the question of choosing a dark horse as a compromise candidate. During the long sessions of the convention, lasting more than a week, Harrison was heard on several occasions, and always with the profoundest respect. It was my business as a newspaper man to see the leaders of the various delegations after the close of each day's battle to ascertain the probabilities for the morrow, and my acquaintance with Harrison ripened into the warmest personal regard and very high appreciation of his manly qualities. He was not an orator, like Blaine or Garfield, but he was a disputant of masterly ability, and always spoke directly to the point with resistless logic. He took the stump for Garfield in Indiana, and confined himself almost wholly to the local battle, as he expected the victory in the State would make him the Senator. Morton was then dead, and his political methods had largely perished with him. The Republicans of the State were marshaled on better political lines under the lead of Harrison, and were devoted to their new leadership. It was a hard struggle, but he carried the State ticket and Legislature, and reaped the full fruition of his battle by his election to the United States Senate.

Harrison's name was never presented to a National Convention as a candidate for the Presidency until 1888, when he was nominated as the candidate of the party. The convention was delayed in its deliberations by the absence of Blaine, who was then abroad and enjoying a coaching tour. Blaine had published a peremptory declination before going abroad, but his friends were unwilling to permit his retirement as a Presidential candidate, and there is little doubt that he would have been nominated had he not finally cabled the peremptory withdrawal of his name. In doing that he intimated to his friends his preference for Harrison, and that turned the tide at once and gave Harrison the

victory. The convention met in Chicago on the 19th of June and was in session for six days. The prominent candidates were Sherman, Gresham, Depew, Alger, Harrison, Allison, Blaine, Ingalls, Rusk and Phelps, and they are named in the order of the strength they exhibited on the first ballot. There was no bitterness in the contest excepting that exhibited by the friends of Sherman against the supporters of Alger, who were accused by Sherman's friends of corruptly controlling a considerable portion of the colored and commercial delegates from the South; and Sherman evidently accepted Alger and his methods as the author of his defeat, as he has crystallized that impression in very plain language in his personal recollections published a short time before his death.

The Pennsylvania delegation supported Sherman under the leadership of Senator Quay, and Governor Hastings, then Adjutant General of the State, presented Sherman's name to the convention. Although the sessions were protracted from day to day some of them were almost entirely perfunctory, as they were awaiting definite information from Blaine. Depew, the candidate of his own State, was present, and mingled with the delegates and his Presidential competitors, ever exhibiting a tireless fund of good humor. The Grangers were then very powerful in the West, and vindictively hostile to railroad corporations. With such conditions Depew was an impossible candidate, which he fully appreciated himself, and he frequently referred to it. He was always surrounded by a circle of friends, and on one occasion I heard him questioned by some of them as to how he expected to get along with the Grangers, to which he promptly replied that he had made the best terms he could with them, as he had promised them that the railroads would leave the farmers their fences, and he thought that ought to be an acceptable compromise.

It was evident from the start that with Alger commanding over 100 votes and bitterly hostile to Sherman, the nomination of Sherman could not be accomplished, and after four days of waiting the final answer from Blaine was received. In a conference in which Depew was the leading factor, it was decided to unite on Harrison. Just what Blaine cabled to his friends may never be made public, but it is known that from the time his final advices were received the action of the convention was defi-

nately determined. Harrison started with 80 votes on the first ballot, and following with 91 on the second and 94 on the third, but on the fourth, when new combinations had been made by the absolute retirement of Blaine, he leaped up to 217. On the fifth ballot he fell off four votes, but on the sixth he rose to 231, on the seventh to 278 and on the eighth 554, which was followed by his unanimous nomination.

The nomination of Harrison was received by his party in much the same spirit that the nomination of Cleveland was received by the Democrats. Neither was a favorite with the aggressive spoilsmen of his party; both were very positive in their devotion to the political faith; both were sincere in their support of civil service reform and had little sympathy with politicians who made politics a trade for the purpose of gathering the spoils of power, but both commanded unbounded respect from political friends and foes, and neither had the advantage of the other in the ephemeral popularity that public men at times achieve by the studied arts of the politician. Harrison had made few speeches in the Senate, and none of them exhibited any of the dash and magnetism that Blaine could throw into a Congressional dispute. He never made speeches for popular effect until after his nomination for the Presidency, and then he developed into one of the most sagacious and effective speech-makers ever heard in our political conflicts.

Immediately after his nomination he was waited upon by a large delegation at his home in Indianapolis, and to the surprise of the public generally, and somewhat to the dismay of his friends, he launched out in the political sea in the most fearless manner. That delegation was followed almost daily by other delegations, and it was soon found that it was his regulation duty to deliver a speech at least six times a week. He was at once counseled by some of the old leaders, who feared the effect of much speaking by a candidate, that he should cease his off-hand public addresses, but he was self-reliant, and he very soon convinced his party and the country that he was abundantly able to meet every question as it arose without danger to his cause. He delivered ninety-four of these spontaneous daily speeches, which were given to the public by the Associated Press and read every morning from one end of the country to the other; and before the campaign had made much progress the daily utter-

ances of Harrison were looked for by his friends not with anxiety, but as one of the pleasurable enjoyments of the day. These utterances were doubtless carefully revised before given to the public, but Harrison proved that his speeches needed little revision, and he finally became known as one of the safest and ablest of the public speakers of the nation. Later, when he had been two years in the Presidency, he made a journey to the Pacific coast and back, during which he delivered 140 addresses, all of which were fresh, instructive, patriotic and entirely free from partisanship. They have never been equaled either before or since by any President, with the exception of the recent speeches of the late President McKinley when he took nearly the same journey. The deliverances of these two Presidents, speaking in the centres of population from the Eastern to the Western sea, will ever be regarded as the choicest exhibitions of American statesmanship.

The campaign of 1888 was one of the most manly political contests the nation has ever had. It was free from defamation and largely free from the violent partisan expressions which are so often provoked in national struggles. Cleveland was heard on several occasions during the progress of the battle. There were no violent political convulsions, and no threats of party defection on either side, excepting the apprehension that Tammany would betray Cleveland. It was one of those quiet battles on regulation party lines that made it clearly visible to the leaders of both sides that the States of New York and Indiana would decide who should be the next President, and both States were contested with desperate earnestness. Cleveland was strong in the confidence of the business interests of the country, and, notwithstanding his tariff message, that had multiplied obstacles to his success, it was well known as the time for election approached that only by the most extraordinary efforts could he be defeated. Indiana was carried for Harrison by the most complete and effective party organization ever known, and New York was carried for Harrison by the defection of Tammany. The electoral vote of the Empire State decided the Presidency. Cleveland had a popular majority in the country of nearly 100,000, and would have been re-elected had he received the electoral vote of his own State, but Harrison won the State when the



Republican State ticket was defeated, and thus became President of the United States.

Harrison was a sternly honest man alike in public and private life, and he believed that his highest duty was to country and not to party. Although a positive partisan in all his political convictions, he was not in sympathy with the great mass of applicants for place that crowded the capital when his election had wrested the power of the Government from the Democrats, who were then filling most of the public offices. He did not appoint Democrats, but he believed that candidates for public place should have some higher qualities than mere party service, and, like Cleveland, he chilled the active party workers at the early stages of his Administration. Senator Quay, who was chairman of the Republican National Committee, and who had employed methods to accomplish the victory in New York which he did not care to present to the public, was soon estranged from the President, as his colleague, Senator Cameron, was from the start. Both of them believed that the first duty of a public man was to his party, and in that they logically differed from the President. At no time during his Administration was he strong with the politicians of his party, but his strength was with the great mass of conservative and business people of the country. Precisely the same influence re-nominated Harrison at the Minneapolis Convention in 1892 which renominated Cleveland at Chicago in the same year. The politicians of both parties would have been glad to defeat their candidates in the convention, but the sentiment of the people overruled and forced these nominations.

Harrison had a strong Cabinet with Blaine at the head, but, like Cleveland, he was the President himself. He gave great care to the details of his official duties, and when great international questions arose he was the master mind that shaped the policy and deliverances of the Administration. This was exhibited in the dispute with the Italian Government relating to the New Orleans massacre, the Chile affair and in the Bering Sea controversy. Blaine was an invalid during the latter part of his term as Secretary of State, but the President was thoroughly familiar with every international issue, and no embarrassment arose through Blaine's inability. The only error of his Administration was the excessive protective features of what was

known as the McKinley tariff; but, whatever his views may have been as to the details of the bill, as a President representing a positive protection policy he could not refuse his approval. It proved to be a great misfortune for the party, as soon after its passage the Republicans suffered the most overwhelming defeat in the history of the party, and it contributed much to the defeat of Harrison in 1892.

Harrison, with all his severe devotion to duty and his apparent lack of genial welcome to visitors, often relaxed from his labors to enjoy the prattle of children or the visits of young people. His wife was more or less an invalid from the time she entered the White House with him until her death, that occurred before his term expired, and his daughter, Mrs. McKee, was compelled to accept most of the social duties of the White House, and made her home with her father. In that family there was one who could turn the President from the soberest duties, and that was "Baby McKee." The little one was absolute mistress of the Government and household, and she taught the world what a vast wealth of love for home and household gods was possessed by the usually severely dignified President.

I saw a very beautiful illustration of that feature of his character on one occasion several years after he had become President. On my return from a several weeks visit to the South I stopped a day in Washington. In the party were two unusually bright and beautiful girls just in the early teens. They had traveled abroad with their parents, and were keen and intelligent observers. They were very desirous to meet the President. It was a time when Congress was not in session, and the President was not greatly oppressed with official duties, and I had no difficulty in getting an immediate audience for them. The President at once recognized the unusual attractiveness of the young girls, and he received them with the most generous welcome, and entertained them half an hour or more, heartily sympathizing with and aiding their childish enthusiasm over everything about the White House. Had he been their youthful companion he could not have been more kind and generous in his devotion to their pleasures. Encouraged by the cordial welcome they received they asked for his photograph, and he promptly responded by furnishing one to each, with an affectionate expression over his autograph. When they left the White House they had

but one memory of the President of the United States, and that was of the heartiest and jolliest of good fellows. Both have grown to womanhood, with the more sober appreciation of life that follows the departure from childhood, but among their green memories the grateful recollection of their visit to President Harrison is most imperishable.

The social reign in the White House under President Harrison was shadowed most of the time by the illness of his wife, who was a most cultured and thoroughly accomplished woman. Her intelligence, tact and generous qualities would have made her rank among the favorites of the first ladies of the land, but she lingered under a painful malady until the 25th of October, 1892, only a few days before the President was defeated in his contest for re-election, when she passed beyond the dark river. Harrison retired from the Presidency in full mental and physical vigor, and was among the most distinguished of the lawyers and legal teachers of the country until his death. Some seven years after the death of his wife he married Mrs. Dimmick, a niece of the first Mrs. Harrison, and a lady of rare personal and intellectual attractions. He lived in the same quiet and unostentatious manner at his home in Indiana until some time in March, when he was prostrated by a severe attack of pneumonia. His illness attracted the attention of the whole country, and on the 13th of March, 1901, his death was announced. No President save those who fell by the hand of the assassin died more lamented by the country.

## McKINLEY'S TRIUMPH AND TRAGIC DEATH.

The tragic death of President McKinley adds a sad chapter to the memories of the White House. On Friday afternoon, September 6, 1901, the President, when receiving the people in the Temple of Music at the Buffalo Exposition, was shot twice by Leon F. Czolgosz, an anarchist. He promptly received the best surgical care, and for some days there were hopes of his recovery, but he died on the 14th of September at 2.15 in the morning. It was once said by an eminent diplomat that Russia was "a despotism tempered by assassination," but in the period of a single generation three Presidents of the United States have fallen by the bullet of the assassin.

Vice President Roosevelt was absent on a hunting expedition in the Adirondacks when the President's illness became severely critical, but he arrived on the day of the President's death and was qualified for the succession. He had been summoned to the President's bedside soon after the President had been shot, and remained for several days; and he left only when the bulletins of the physicians gave reasonable assurance of the President's recovery. After taking the oath of office President Roosevelt in a tremulous voice said: "In this hour of deep national bereavement I wish to state that it shall be my aim to continue absolutely unbroken the policy of President McKinley for the peace, prosperity and honor of our beloved country."

President McKinley's remains were taken to Washington and lay in state for a day in the rotunda of the Capitol, when the funeral cortege, accompanied by the new President, proceeded to Canton, where they finally received sepulture amidst the tears of the people. Although two Presidents, both greatly beloved, had fallen by the assassin's hand before McKinley was made the victim of the red-handed murder of anarchy, no President of the republic ever died so universally lamented as William McKinley. Lincoln stands high over all in the affections of the

country and the world today, but when he fell by the bullet of Booth the nation was engaged in fraternal war, and in the North political prejudices and hatreds were intensified by sectional strife; and while the assassination of Lincoln was denounced, his death did not call out the universal fountains of sorrow, which gave expression to the country's grief at the fall of McKinley. Garfield also fell in the midst of fierce factional strife within his own political household that estranged a large portion of his own party from approval of his Administration; but McKinley was stricken down by the anarchist when he had no violent partisan prejudices assailing him, and when political friend and foe united in testifying to the beneficent attributes of his public and private character. Even political criticism of the chief features of his Administration was heard in the feeblest tones, and throughout the entire land there was universal expression of not only respect but affection for the President of the Republic.

It was my fortune to know President McKinley somewhat intimately from the time he appeared in Congress, in 1877, until his death. He was born at Niles, O., on the 29th of January, 1843, and in 1861, when only 18 years of age, he enlisted as a private in the Twenty-third Ohio Volunteers, and served during the entire war, retiring as brevet major for "gallantry and meritorious service." He served in the ranks as a private for 14 months, during which period he was frequently in the flame of battle. After the war he studied law, and was admitted to the Bar in 1867, when he made Canton his home, where he has since resided. He was seven times consecutively elected to Congress. The Democrats once decided to defeat him by a gerrymander that made his district Democratic, but he overcame the party majority, although he lost his seat on a contest; and two years later, the Republicans having regained power in the State, his old district was restored, from which he was regularly returned by large majorities until 1890, when the Democrats, having again carried the Legislature, gave him a district with over 3000 Democratic majority. Undaunted by the adverse political tide that confronted him, he again became a candidate and largely exceeded his party vote, but was defeated by less than one-third the normal Democratic majority of the district. One year later he was nominated for Governor and elected by over 21,000, and in 1893 he was re-elected by over 80,000 majority, being the

largest ever given to a candidate for Governor, with the single exception of Brough's majority over Vallandigham, in 1863. In 1896, after an earnest struggle with such competitors as Speaker Reed, Governor Morton and others, he was nominated for President on the first ballot by more than a two-thirds vote, and elected by a popular plurality of 300,000, and received 271 votes in the Electoral College to 176 for William J. Bryan. He was renominated in 1900 by the unanimous vote of his party convention on a poll of the delegations, and Theodore Roosevelt was nominated with him for Vice-President, falling just one short of McKinley's vote—and that one vote was cast by Roosevelt himself. The result was his re-election by the largest popular majority ever given to any Presidential candidate.

McKinley early became one of the Republican leaders of national fame. Some time before his retirement from Congress he was chairman of the Ways and Means Committee, and the author of what was known as the McKinley tariff, passed in 1890, and approved by President Harrison. In all his public career he was a model of personal purity in every relation of life, and the only imperfection I have ever heard imputed to him was in itself a virtue. He was a man of the kindest and gentlest disposition, and it was claimed that at times his kindly nature would dominate his judgment; but none ever assumed that when the distinct issue was presented between the right and the wrong McKinley ever faltered. He was a delightful companion, an able and chivalrous foe and tireless in the performance of all his public duties. He has been criticised as the author of the McKinley tariff, but all who are well advised on the subject know that his political environment made it impossible for him to make any different revision of our tariff laws with the hope of success. While that tariff made his party suffer the most overwhelming defeat that has ever befallen it in its history, it did not in any way diminish public confidence in McKinley, as is shown by the immense vote he received in excess of his party in his hopeless struggle for re-election in a gerrymandered district, and by his election and re-election as Governor of the State. I met him frequently during his career in Congress, and, like all who had the opportunity of personal intercourse with him, have only the most agreeable recollections of him both as a public and private character. He was a positive partisan, but, above all,

he was as patriotic in the discharge of his high responsible civil duties as he was when he bore his musket in the ranks, offering his life for his country.

I was first impressed with McKinley's Presidential possibilities while attending the Republican National Convention in Chicago, in 1888. In those days it was common for the chief editors of leading journals to attend national conventions as their own correspondents, and they usually formed very delightful supper parties after the labors of the day and night had been completed. Walking back to the hotel from one of these late gatherings with Murat Halstead, then of the Cincinnati Commercial, and discussing the general outlook of the convention that was then very much entangled by waiting for cable orders from Blaine, who was abroad, Halstead suddenly stopped and said: "Keep your eye on William McKinley, of Ohio; he will one day be President if he lives. He is the only man prominent among our Republican leaders today who served as a private in the Union army and fired his musket in battle after battle. Generals are popular, but a private soldier who has reached the distinction of McKinley, with his blameless character and record, must develop as a very formidable candidate for the highest honors of the nation."

McKinley was then discussed in private circles as a possible Presidential candidate, but he was in the convention himself at the head of the Ohio delegation that was instructed for Sherman, who started in the race with much the largest vote of any of the many candidates; and McKinley resented the use of his name in the most positive manner as involving perfidy to Sherman and to the Republicans of his State. In disregard of his positive refusal to be considered a candidate, he received from 2 up to 16 votes on various ballots. In like manner he was voted for in the national convention of 1892 against his personal protest delivered from the chair, as he was President of the body. His name was not placed in nomination before the convention, but he received 182 votes in defiance of his refusal to permit the use of his name, and when the vote of his State was given unanimously for himself with the exception of his own vote, he emphasized his disapproval of it by having his vote recorded for Harrison. After the defeat of Harrison in his contest for reelection McKinley logically became one of the leading candi-

dates for the Presidency, and the almost unprecedented majority he received for re-election as Governor of Ohio in 1893 gave great impetus to his cause. The history of the campaign and its result are familiar to all, and need not be elaborated.

Earnestly as I had opposed McKinley's economic views as presented in the tariff of 1890, and while then at variance with him on the general administrative policy of his party, I earnestly supported his election over Mr. Bryan, and *The Times*, with which I was then connected as chief editor, joined with half a score or more prominent public journals ardently devoted to tariff reform in advocating his election. No man ever received a more independent support outside of his party than was given to McKinley in the contest of 1896. Many of the ablest tariff reform leaders believed that the question of a sound financial policy was paramount, and without importunity or condition of any kind they gave the victory to McKinley. When he was successful, they asked no political favors at his hands; indeed, as a rule, they held that they could not consistently accept official reward for the independent services they had rendered, and that brought me into somewhat close and certainly very pleasant relations with him during his Presidency. I saw him many times in the White House, and was always delighted at the cordial welcome he gave and his frankness in the discussion of all questions of public interest. Having no personal ends to serve and no political friends to press upon his favor he could speak with freedom, and I never visited Washington without enjoying the pleasure of a visit to the President.

I never had occasion to discuss with him any question with earnestness excepting several times when I complained of the attitude exhibited by the Navy Department toward Commodore Schley. He always spoke very kindly of Schley, and certainly he meant to be both kind and just. He gave Schley full credit for his valor in the naval battle of Santiago, but assumed that as Sampson was commander-in-chief and at least constructively engaged in the conflict, he was entitled to be promoted over his second officer. He expressed doubt as to the efficiency of Schley's early blockade of Santiago, to which I answered that if Schley had been guilty of anything before the battle of Santiago unworthy of a commander of his rank, to criticise him after he had been permitted to remain and fight and win the battle would



be only to criticise the President as commander-in-chief and the Secretary of the Navy and Rear Admiral Sampson. In later interviews, after the Senate had developed an overwhelming majority against the promotion of Sampson over Schley, he made no complaint of the action of the Senate, but adhered to his belief that the commander-in-chief of the squadron engaged in the battle should reap the highest honors. He said he felt as kindly to Schley as he did to Sampson; that he had nominated both for promotion because of that feeling; that he had selected them as representatives of the navy at the most important State dinner of his Administration given to the Paris Peace Commissioners; that he had sent Sampson at the head of a tribunal to take charge of Cuba and superintend the retirement of the Spanish troops, and had sent Schley with equal honor to Porto Rico; that he had no sympathy whatever with those who sought to defame Schley or to make an issue between the two naval commanders, and he closed by saying that he was prepared to have Schley assigned to the command of a squadron. At the last interview I had with him on the subject he sent for Admiral Schley within an hour after I left him, and I learned from the Admiral, with whom I dined that evening, that he was to be assigned to the command of the South Atlantic Squadron, with the Brooklyn as his flagship.

On one of the occasions he inquired of me whether it would not be well for Schley to ask for a Court of Inquiry, to which I answered that Schley could not do so in justice to himself for the reason that, unless the Navy Department was overruled, he could not get an honest Court. To this the President replied with emphasis that he would see to it himself that Schley should have an entirely impartial Court if he desired an inquiry. I remember distinctly that he asked the question, "Would not Dewey do? Would not Watson do?" I said "Yes." He then added that he would permit no injustice to be done to any officer of the American navy by a Court of Inquiry, and he thought that I was unjust in assuming that the Navy Department was ready to be a party to injustice to Schley. I answered that if he would look at the action of the Department in ordering two subalterns who were involved in a dispute (as was common in both army and navy) to report to Captain Chadwick, Schley's bitterest foe, to ascertain who was right and who was wrong, when they should have been sent to Captain Cook, in whose presence and hearing

the conversation occurred (if any conversation was held) and before whom neither could have lied or equivocated, he might understand the disposition in navy circles to defame Schley. I doubt not that, when the time came for the selection of the Schley Court, Dewey was made the head of the tribunal because the President indicated him for that duty.

Soon after McKinley entered the Presidential office he was confronted by the Cuban troubles which ultimately resulted in a war with Spain. I saw him many times during the progress of events which led up to the War, and he was often torn by conflicting desires. Like Lincoln, he was profoundly averse to war, and shuddered at the sacrifice of the lives of his countrymen; but the wrongs of Cuba became so intolerable and aroused the country to such a measure of resentment that when the battleship *Maine* was blown up and the lives of hundreds of our brave sailors sacrificed there was no alternative but to accept the arbitrament of the sword in behalf of humanity and justice. He was reluctant until the last moment to accept war, but when it was no longer possible to avoid it with honor he entered into it with all the earnestness of his patriotic nature. After battles had been fought and victories won by both our army and navy he was earnestly for peace, and was largely instrumental himself in effecting the preliminary agreement that practically ended the war. But for the extraordinary efforts of himself, his Cabinet and warm personal and political supporters the country would have been involved in interminable complications at the very outset of the war. It required all the political sagacity and moral power of the Government to restrain Congress from involving us in the recognition of the Cuban Republic and making us accountable to the world for obligations entirely beyond the scope of our humane purposes or our national necessities.

McKinley was originally averse to the acquisition of the Philippines, and at first yielded only so far as to demand the cession of Luzon; but the questions involved grew in magnitude, and the President arose to every new necessity until he realized the fact that only by the possession of the Philippine archipelago could we have peace and safety in the Eastern seas. At every stage of this great conflict he was humane and generous in every instinct, expression and action, and when the war ended he did everything within his power to give the largest measure of beneficent

attainment to the new peoples who came into our possessions with their provinces. He accepted the colonial policy with reluctance, but finally believed that it was the best solution that could be made of the problem, in view of the very grave complications involving our industry and trade. Whatever he did he did because, after most careful consideration, he believed it to be the best for both the new provinces and the Republic.

McKinley entered his second term on the 4th of March, 1901, with less political bitterness surviving the contest than was exhibited after any great national battle since the re-election of Monroe, in 1820. He was violently assailed only by a few ultra anti-imperialists and a circle of babbling anarchists, and the country generally accepted his re-election with very positive gratification or with the most generous opposing convictions. I last saw him in the White House a short time before he started on his journey to the Pacific. He seemed to be in excellent health, although a careful study of his complexion and the slightly dimmed lustre of his eyes suggested that he was not enjoying complete physical vigor. He has just reason to be proud of the condition in which his first Administration had left the country. There was universal tranquillity and general employment for well requited labor. Prosperity spread its sunshine in every channel of commerce, industry and trade, and the grave national and international problems which confronted him during his first Administration seemed to be solved with satisfaction to the country and the world. He spoke hopefully and grandly of the progress and destiny of our free institutions, and seemed specially delighted that he was about to have an opportunity to meet the people North and South when there were no political issues to hinder his free intercourse with them.

That journey was one of the most delightful records written in the life of McKinley. He was welcomed with enthusiastic ovations at every centre of population by the people who had given a majority of votes against him, and his frequent addresses proved the wonderful intellectual force of the man. Nearly all of the addresses he delivered were in the South, as his mingling with the people was suddenly terminated at San Francisco by the critical illness of his wife, compelling the Northern route to be changed and a return of the party without permitting his intercourse with the people that they so ardently desired. No

man ever broadened out more than William McKinley after he reached the Presidency, and if he had no other record to leave as a legacy to the country than his spontaneous addresses delivered during his journey to the Pacific coast, and his grandest of all deliverances at the Pan-American Exposition the day before he fell by the bullet of the assassin, he would stand out in American history as among the most lustrous of our statesmen.

Every life has its shadows, and the greatest sorrow of the life of McKinley was the suffering of his frail, sweet, angel wife, who was never permitted, even by the gravest duties of State to go beyond his care. She made heroic efforts to perform part of the social duties which devolve upon the first lady of the land, but it was always by a fearful strain upon her feeble vital powers. To her the whole world was centred in her husband, whose affection for her has crystallized him in history as the ideal husband, and has given the nation and the world higher and nobler conceptions of the sanctity of home. She has unexpectedly survived the terrible shock of the murder of the one for whom alone she lived, and is now lingering in the darkly clouded home at Canton until "the shadows are a little longer grown."

## THE SHADOWS OF OUR GREAT NATIONAL CONTESTS.

The shadowed side of our great national battles is rarely crystallized into history, although the pathway of these great conflicts is thickly strewn with the bones of many who have fallen in the race. Not only have many who felt that the highest civil trust of the world was within their grasp been doomed to bitter disappointment, but many of those who reached the Presidency have retired with the keenest sorrow because they did not command the approval of the people. In all the varied conflicts of American politics many scores who have failed or fallen in the struggles for the Presidency have drained the cup of bitterness to the dregs.

The elder Adams was the first to be crushed by defeat in his contest for re-election in 1880. He had defeated Jefferson four years before, but Jefferson was confident that his success had only been delayed, and he bore himself manfully. Adams, who never regarded his defeat possible, forgot his dignity and self-respect and churlishly left the Presidential mansion at midnight, thus refusing to receive Jefferson as his successor. Both lived for a quarter of a century, and time and age tempered the asperities which had so long existed between two men who stood side by side in presenting the Declaration of Independence to the Colonial Congress.

One of the most startling and pathetic illustrations of the shadowed side of our Presidential battles was exhibited in the alternating success, defeat and disgrace of Aaron Burr. He was quite as able as Jefferson, and one of the most accomplished politicians of his day. He was sagacious, tireless and unscrupulous, and he saved Jefferson in the contest of 1800 by carrying the Legislature of New York, his own State, that chose the Presidential electors. At that time the electors voted only for President, and the second highest in the electoral college became Vice President. Jefferson was just as distinctly presented to the

people by his party as its candidate for President and Burr as its candidate for Vice President as McKinley and Roosevelt were presented by the Philadelphia Convention. In the electoral college Jefferson and Burr had each 73 votes for President, being a majority of the electoral college.

It is strange that such a contingency was not guarded against by some one of the Jefferson electors, but it was doubtless confidently expected that Jefferson would in some way receive more votes than Burr. It was a great opportunity for Burr to make himself a more than possible President in the future by manfully declaring that Jefferson was elected President, but on the face of the returns he was quite as much entitled to the Presidency as Jefferson, and he permitted, and doubtless aided in, a protracted struggle to elect himself. But for the aggressive hostility of Hamilton, aided by Bayard, of Delaware, it is more than possible that Burr would have been elected by a combination of Federalists and Burr Republicans. Burr was defeated and disgraced, and lived for many years a wanderer and practically a man without a country. He made a desperate struggle to rehabilitate himself by running for Governor of New York, but Hamilton again threw himself into the contest against Burr, and paid the penalty soon after Burr's defeat by falling in a duel with his antagonist. No other man in all our political history appeared as having a life clouded without even a silver lining such as was the destiny of Aaron Burr. He was thwarted in every ambition, imprisoned and tried for treason, and at times found peace only by living in extreme poverty abroad, a stranger to his own name, and he was smitten in all that he loved. The death of his grandson, his only hope of a future defender, was a crushing blow, and soon thereafter he was called to suffer the lingering and unspeakable agony of the death of his daughter and only child, who sailed from her Southern home to welcome him back to the country that had rejected him; and never was heard of more.

Jefferson was re-elected without serious opposition, and the election and re-election of Madison and Monroe brought no serious shadow to the competitors, as they never could reasonably have cherished the hope of success; but in 1824, when Adams, Jackson, Crawford and Clay were opponents for the Presidency, the shadows fell thickly and heavily upon the defeated candidates. Adams was chosen by the House, and four years later he

was defeated in a square contest with Jackson. Adams bore his defeat with the philosophy that well befitted one of the most courtly and philosophical of our great Americans. Soon after his retirement he entered the House from his Congressional district, continued there for nearly a score of years and fell in the harness beloved by many and feared and respected by all. Jackson, like Jefferson, accepted his defeat as simply a delay in obtaining the Presidential honors, and was afterward elected and re-elected by large majorities.

No man suffered keener sorrow because of his repeated defeats for the Presidency than did Henry Clay. For more than a quarter of a century he was a hopeful candidate. He was the great popular idol of his party, worshiped as no national candidate was ever worshiped before or since, and it was only natural that the great aim of his life was to enjoy the highest honors of the Republic, on whose statesmanship he had shed the richest lustre. He was a candidate before the people in 1824, again in 1832, again in 1844, and was a hopeful candidate for the nomination before the Whig national convention of 1848. He was twice defeated in the conventions of his party when his successful competitors were elected, and in 1844, when he was nominated in the Whig national convention amidst deafening cheers, and supported with an enthusiasm that has rarely been equaled and never surpassed, he was defeated by the abolition diversion of New York. He apparently bore himself in this terrible adversity with more than Roman grandeur, but he was crushed in heart and hope, and thereafter the Clay over whose defeat untold thousands wept scalding tears was only a shadow of himself in the dark shadows that hung like a pall over him. He returned to the Senate, but he could not bow to the sceptre wielded by another, and he was soon in jarring discord with the Administration of his party. When the slavery issue arose after the Mexican war, he girded up his loins and again became the pacificator that he had been in the earlier trials of the Republic. The death of Taylor brought the Fillmore Administration, which was in harmony with his views, and his final triumph in statesmanship was the passage of the Compromise Measures of 1850, which utterly wrecked his party, which was practically unknown and entirely unfelt after the terrible defeat of 1852. He lived only to see the head of the Administration that he had so ardently sup-

ported rejected by his party in its national convention; but, before the election that obliterated his great party from the list of political factors of the nation, his weary spirit found rest in the sleep that knows no awakening.

Webster wasted his life away in his rural home in Massachusetts because of the ingratitude of the Republic. He had thrown himself into the struggle for the Compromise Measures which he believed saved the country from civil strife, and confidently expected the Whig nomination for the Presidency in 1852. He knew that he was regarded by the country as the great expounder of the Constitution and the first in intellectual force in our statesmanship, and he yearned for the appreciative recognition that an election to the Presidency would give him. It was not only denied him, but he was not permitted to figure as a formidable candidate in the convention that adopted as its platform the Compromise Measures to which he had given success by his powerful support, and like the captive eagle in gilded bars he fretted through the crushing sorrow of disappointment to repose beyond the dark river.

General Scott was a candidate for the Presidency before the Whig convention of 1839, of 1848 and of 1852, when he was finally nominated. Like Clay, he was a prominent candidate before two conventions whose nominations for the Presidency were confirmed by the people. His chief infirmity was his belief that the politicians of his party conspired to prevent the people from electing him to the Chief Magistracy of the nation. His autobiography exhibits this painful weakness on various pages. He was finally nominated in 1852, and fought the last battle for the Whig party in our national struggles. His competitor was a subordinate brigadier from civil life in Scott's Mexican campaign, and Scott believed that he would be elected by an overwhelming majority. Even after the disasters of the October elections, which pointed unerringly to his defeat, he never for a moment faltered in his faith that the people would rise above all political prejudice and make him President; and when the final blow came giving him but two States in the North and but two in the South, he was utterly crushed by the disaster that left him in the starless midnight of political despair. He lived for more than a decade after his defeat, but he was only waiting until the coming shadows gathered into night.



Calhoun was once as hopeful a candidate for the Presidency as was Clay, but he was smitten by the omnipotent power of Jackson, who deposed him from the Vice Presidency with a view of giving Van Buren the succession; and thereafter the life of Calhoun was one of bitter disappointment that doubtless did much to make him sow the dragon-teeth of secession which later gave such a deeply crimsoned harvest in the civil war. Van Buren was made President in 1836 by the power of Jackson, but in 1840 he was largely defeated by Harrison. He philosophically accepted his defeat, as he was confident of re-election four years later; but when the time came he was doomed to disappointment, for while a majority of the delegates in the national convention voted for his nomination, it was settled by the leaders that a new candidate should be chosen, resulting in the nomination of Polk, the first dark horse who was named for the Presidency. His friends were finally reconciled to the support of Polk, and he and they gave Polk the narrow victory he achieved; but four years later, when hope of Presidential honors had fled, he became a bolting candidate of the Free Soil Democracy, and fell like Samson with the columns of the Democratic temple falling over him. He lived in retirement for a number of years, but his greatness and power lingered only as a memory.

Fremont burst upon the horizon like a brilliant political meteor. New and confused political conditions made him an available candidate, and he practically overthrew the political power of the Democrats in the Northern States. I saw him in the midst of his campaign hopeful and sobered by his expected new responsibilities; but after his defeat he was unknown as a political factor, failed as a commander in the civil war, failed in various great financial enterprises, and I lately saw the sequel to his career in the beautiful valley of Los Angeles, where I visited his feeble and broken widow, whose almost lustreless eyes brightened as I spoke of witnessing the nomination of her husband for the Presidency in 1856, and whose comforts of her own home are supplied by generous friends.

Fillmore was a competitor of Fremont and Buchanan in the same contest. He had suffered keen disappointment in his failure to be nominated over Scott in 1852, but his dominating desire to win the Presidency again made him accept the nomination of the third party in 1856, in which he suffered an overwhelming

defeat, carrying the electoral vote of only a single State. Thereafter he lived in the shadows of enforced retirement, and was unknown in the political movements or statesmanship of the nation.

I first met John C. Breckenridge at a breakfast party very soon after his election to the Vice Presidency, and never studied a public man with greater interest. He was the youngest of all the Vice Presidents, and fairly won his distinction by his extraordinary triumphs in the Lexington Congressional district. He was then one of the handsomest men I have ever met. His exquisitely cut face indicated extraordinary individuality, and his keen eyes flashed with a brilliancy that is rarely witnessed. He was an easy, genial and delightful conversationalist, and I looked upon him as altogether the most promising of the public men of that day. He served his term of Vice President, and when he left the presiding chair it was only to be sworn in as a Senator from Kentucky. In 1860 he was nominated by the Anti-Douglas or Radical Pro-Slavery wing of the party, and in the Southern States he received large majorities over Douglas, and was given 72 votes in the electoral college to 12 for his Democratic competitor. No man ever more sweetly dreamed the dream of reaching the Presidency than did John C. Breckenridge, but when the time came his party was broken on factional lines, and he had to bow to a defeat that he knew was fatal to all his hopes. He evidently had an earnest struggle with himself before he cast his lot with the South in the civil conflict, as he remained in the Senate long after the Southern Senators had resigned. I have heard his intimate friends in Lexington discuss the circumstances which led to his leaving home and State to join the Confederacy. They claim that he would not have done so had it not been that he was informed on credible authority that his arrest had been ordered by the Government, and he summarily fled to the South. In the Southern army he never won distinction as a military chieftain, but it is only fair to say that he had little opportunity, as when he became a commander the cause of the South was without an army equal to achievement. He was called to the Cabinet as Secretary of War, only to witness the expiring agonies of the Confederate Government. He was with General Johnston when his army was surrendered to Sherman in North Carolina, and then, accepting his position as that of a man without a coun-

try, he escaped to foreign lands, and later returned to spend the brief evening of his life in the unbroken shadows which fell upon him.

Douglas was a competitor of Breckenridge and Lincoln in the great battle of 1860, and he is the one man of all the great political gladiators in the Presidential arena who was grander if possible in defeat than he could have been in victory. That he was disappointed in his ambition he did not affect to conceal, but he was strong and brave, and he was one of the first who came to the side of Lincoln, his old competitor, to point the way for the safety of the Republic. Had he lived I doubt not that he would have been one of the greatest of our public men in the most trying times of our statesmanship, but unfortunately, he fell in the full vigor of his life, lamented by every patriotic heart.

General McClellan was one of those who drank deeply from the cup of sorrow. There was no more accomplished officer in the army; no purer or personally more blameless character, and he is safely crystallized in our history as our greatest military organizer; but he failed to achieve success as a military chieftain, was deprived of his command, left on waiting orders for two years or more, and when his party made an earnest effort to vindicate him by his election to the Presidency, he went down in disastrous defeat with a popular majority against him of over 400,000 out of a total vote of 4,000,000. He was respected by all, and beloved by his political friends; but from the day that he was called to the highest military position of the nation until his death his life was one continued disappointment, as is most painfully reflected in a large volume, entitled "McClellan's Own Story," prepared by himself and published soon after his death.

In 1868 Horatio Seymour, then the ablest of the Democratic leaders, was nominated as Grant's opponent for the Presidency against his earnest protest. In mingled earnestness and pathos he declared to the convention: "Your candidate I cannot be." He felt that he was unequal to it physically, but a combination organized by Tilden to defeat the nomination of Chase forced the leadership upon Seymour, and he accepted it fully appreciating the fact that he was offered as a sacrifice to maintain the party organization. He was heard on the stump during the campaign, and his speeches were forceful, dignified and impressive; but it was the swan singing its sweetest notes in death.

He saved his own State by a small majority by methods which were gravely questioned by his opponents, and he fell with a popular majority of 300,000 against him, and with only 80 electoral votes to 214 for Grant. He suffered the double sorrow of losing the Presidency and being compelled to round out a distinguished political career in overwhelming disaster.

And who among those living 30 years ago does not recall the painful story of Horace Greeley? I had known him for many years, and loved him as a brother. As his sincere friend I sought to prevent his nomination at Cincinnati because I regarded it as simply crucifixion, but when he was made a candidate I gave my whole time to aid in the hopeless effort for his success. I know of no man of the past whose life was more sincerely and unselfishly devoted to the public good, and especially to the cause of the lowly and oppressed. He did not thirst for power, for he had little regard for the usually empty honors of office, but I never knew a man who more earnestly yearned for the approval of his countrymen. When his defeat came he was already greatly enfeebled by his tireless devotion to his wife, who died but a few days before the fateful election; and stricken in his dearest affections and in all his hopes of usefulness, his great mind, that had once taught through *The Tribune* with more power than that of the President, was shattered by the blow; and after a few fearfully shadowed days in an asylum he gained the peace of the grave.

Tilden, then the foremost of the Democratic leaders, and the greatest organizer the party ever had, after an exhaustive campaign resulting in his election by a large popular and electoral majority on the face of the returns, was dwarfed into littleness in the fierce struggle that resulted in the Electoral Commission and his ultimate defeat. The blow that fell upon him was one from which he never rallied. He had friends devotedly attached to him, but the cloud of his defeat shadowed his mastery, and I saw the temper of the Democrats at the convention of 1880 when they treated his letter of declination with little respect. The contest of 1876 dated the decline and fall of his leadership, and the honors and the power of which he dreamed steadily passed away from him. He was practically unfelt in the later political conflicts of his life, and died in the shadow of failure in his greatest hopes and ambition.

Hancock, like Douglas in 1860 and Cleveland in 1888, bowed to defeat with all the dignity and courage of a soldier. I never saw him look more grand than when he led the military procession at the inauguration of Garfield, his successful competitor. Naturally he was disappointed at his defeat, as the popular majority against him was less than 10,000 out of many millions, but he at once dismissed political ambition, and his pride in his military profession, in which he had won the highest distinction, was his consolation. There was no visible shadow upon his life, and he died universally beloved.

Next to Greeley, Blaine's political shadows were the saddest which fell upon any of our leading men in the Presidential contests of the last half century. He was in his day "leader of leaders," and was in closer sympathy with the vital elements of his party than any other man since its organization. For full 20 years he was a Presidential aspirant, always hoping for success and always fearing defeat. He was enthusiastic in all things, but with all his masterful ambition to reach the Presidency he was ever shadowed with the apprehension that he was fated to failure. I saw him after his defeat in the Cincinnati convention of 1876, and heard him speak with great freedom of his attitude and his hopes, and he said with evident emotion: "I am fated not to be President: I am the Henry Clay of the Republican party." No man had greater struggles and apparently greater opportunities, but he was twice defeated in conventions when the party nominee was successful, and afterward nominated only to lead his party to its first defeat since its success of 1860. Even when broken in both physical and mental vigor, he permitted his name to be presented to the Republican convention of 1892, only to suffer a humiliating defeat that was soon thereafter forgotten where memory perishes with life.

Harrison and Cleveland both won the Presidency, and both suffered defeats, but neither ever permitted a visible shadow to be brought upon his life by political disaster. Cleveland's defeat after he had served a term was retrieved by his re-election, but Harrison retired after his defeat of 1892 without hope of regaining the great prize he had lost. Both these ex-Presidents illustrated the highest measure of dignity and fidelity in their official trust, and the highest and noblest attributes of citizenship in defeat and retirement.

Bryan has suffered two defeats for the Presidency after contests in which he exhibited unexampled energy and ability. Instead of bowing to the shadows of defeat he is today as tireless, as aggressive and as hopeful as ever in his struggle for a political revolution that may call him to the highest civil trust of the world.

Beautiful and fragrant as are the flowers which adorn the crown of the Republic, the path to the attainment of its honors is fearfully beset with thorns.

## SAM HOUSTON'S BRILLIANT AND ROMANTIC CAREER.

Sam Houston is the only name by which the man was known who was twice President of one Republic, a national Senator in two Republics and a Governor and Congressman from his adopted State of Tennessee, and the simple story of his life makes romance pale before the truth of history. Born in poverty in Virginia, March 2, 1793, his family moved to Tennessee when he was only 13 years of age and settled in the wilderness to rear their log cabin home and supply their frugal wants by tireless industry. Although denied educational advantages in his boyhood, he had learned to read and was a tireless student with an unflagging love for adventure. Before he reached manhood he joined the Cherokee Indians and lived with them for several years, but when yet in his teens he returned to Tennessee, taught a country school and was enabled to take a single session at Maryville Academy. Soon thereafter he enlisted in the regular army, served under Jackson in Indian warfare and suffered several severe wounds in a desperate engagement with the Creeks, one of which never entirely healed. He was promoted to a lieutenantancy on Jackson's recommendation for special gallantry.

In 1818 he resigned his commission, was admitted to the Bar and soon rose to the Prosecuting Attorneyship of the Nashville district. In 1820 he was elected to Congress by a large majority, was re-elected two years later, and in 1827 was elected Governor of Tennessee. While holding that position and a candidate for re-election in 1829 he married Miss Eliza Allen, a rich and accomplished Nashville lady, who had yielded to the importunities of her family to reject a man to whom she was sincerely devoted to accept the brilliant match of the young and most promising Governor of the State. Her unwillingness for the marriage was in some way betrayed during the day of the wedding, and he kindly but determinedly forced from her the confession that she was married against her will. He at once released her from the

obligation, left his bride and office and returned to his old friends, the Cherokee Indians, where he lived a dissolute life for several years. While with them he was recognized as the chief of chiefs, and in 1832 he visited Washington dressed in all the outlandish garb of the tribe; but he was kindly received by President Jackson, whose protegee he had been in both the army and politics. While with the Indians he married a half-breed according to the Indian rites, and he proved his devotion by sending for her to join him when he later emigrated to Texas; but she refused to leave her tribe, and died a few years thereafter.

In 1832 Jackson sent him as a Commissioner to make treaties with the Indian Comanches in Texas, and to arrange for the protection of American settlers. He was thus located in Texas when the rebellion finally took organized shape for the independence of that State and he aided to organize the civil government at San Felipe de Austin. Soon thereafter a convention of the people of the State united in a declaration of independence, and the Mexican army, 5000 strong, under the command of Santa Anna, then Emperor of Mexico, invaded Texas to suppress the insurgents. The appalling Alamo butchery, March 6, 1836, was the first conflict between the Mexicans and the insurgents, and the 145 Texans, including Crockett, Bowie and Travis, resisted until the last man was killed. A few days later the Mexicans massacred 220 prisoners of war at Goliad.

Houston was made commander-in-chief of the Texan army, and maneuvered until he got Santa Anna to the banks of the San Jacinto, April 21, 1836, when he gave battle with his 743 ill-equipped men to double the number of Mexicans and practically annihilated the opposing army. The battle cry of Houston's men was "Remember the Alamo," and how effectively they fought may be understood when it is told that out of 1400 Mexicans 630 were killed, while only 208 were wounded and most of the remainder made prisoners. Santa Anna escaped in disguise, but was captured and Houston braved the universal demand of his army to massacre the man who had commanded at Alamo and Goliad, and compelled Santa Anna to an exchange of prisoners and the practical acknowledgment of the independence of Texas. The Mexican Government repudiated the treaty because made by Santa Anna when a prisoner of war, but while threats were many times made of renewing hostilities, there was



no further war between Texas and Mexico until our Mexican war of 1847 after the annexation of Texas.

Houston was elected President of the new Republic July 22, 1836, receiving four-fifths of the whole vote polled, and the independence of the Texas Republic was promptly acknowledged by the United States. Under the Constitution he was prohibited from succeeding himself in the Presidency, and at the end of his first term he was chosen to the Texan Senate and served there until another Presidential term expired, when he was re-elected practically without opposition. In 1841 he was inaugurated for the second time, and the same year married Miss Margaret M. Lea, of Alabama, who exercised the happiest influences over him during the remainder of his life and maintained his devoted attachment. He proposed the annexation of Texas to the United States, but the United States Senate first rejected it by 35 to 16, when Houston avowed his purpose in the event of the refusal of annexation to the United States to seek the protectorate of England or some other foreign Government. This brought the annexation question to a crisis, and on October 14, 1845, Texas was admitted as one of the sovereign States of our Republic. Houston was elected as one of the first Senators, taking his seat March 4, 1846, and he continued as Senator until 1859, when he was defeated for re-election, but was chosen Governor of the State the same year. He was a Union man of the Jackson school, and he vetoed the resolution of the Texas Legislature calling a convention to lead the State to secession; but it was passed over his veto by a vote of 167 to 7, and when he declined to take the oath of allegiance to the Confederacy he was deposed from the Governorship. He had then reached the patriarchal age, but he lingered out less than two years in the despair that the disruption of his country brought to him when he welcomed the peace of death.

I first saw Houston while attending the Whig National Convention as a boy editor at Philadelphia in 1848. General Cass, the Democratic nominee for President, with a number of distinguished supporters, passed through the city during one of the days of the convention, and they were given a grand ovation. Houston, Benton, Allen and Stevenson spoke with Cass from the balcony of a hotel on Chestnut street, above Sixth, and I happened to be in a good position in the crowd to see and hear.

I was especially attracted to Houston by his magnificent physique and singularly strong Roman face, but I had no opportunity to meet him at that time. Several years later, on entering the car at Pittsburg to journey to Harrisburg, I found Houston in the same car on his way to Washington, and sitting alone. My enthusiasm over his romantic and distinguished career led me to introduce myself, and I had a most delightful chat with him during the entire journey to Harrisburg. He was a fascinating conversationalist, although it required considerable effort to get him to talk about his own career, the one thing in which I was most interested; but after he got fairly started in the history of the Texas revolution that established the Republic, he warmed up to it and gave me the entire story of the inception, development and final success that was attained at the battle of San Jacinto. I remember that during the journey he was suffering from an old wound that he had received under Jackson in the Creek war, and he once stopped to bathe it.

His account of his army was as amusing as it was instructive. He had only 743 men all told, without pretense of uniform or military discipline. They were simply wild Westerners, many of them fugitives from the States, who took refuge there because they were beyond the reach of extradition laws, but they had one quality that told fearfully in the battle—they were dead shots and they always fired to kill. The description of his artillery was especially amusing. It consisted only of a few mountain swivels strapped on the backs of mules, and after firing one of the guns it took much more time to get the frightened and vicious mule quieted than to reload. He spoke of the heroic efforts required to save the life of Santa Anna after he had been captured. Fortunately, the Mexican Emperor was in disguise and not recognized by the men who captured him, or he would have been murdered on the spot; and when it became known that he was a prisoner at headquarters, his men were vehement in the demand that the same mercy should be shown to Santa Anna that was shown by him and his army at the Alamo and Goliad, where not one of the Texas insurgents survived. He impressed me as a man of extraordinary intellectual force, with little opportunity for culture, although he was one of the most graceful and courtly gentlemen on occasions requiring the exhibition of that side of his character; but his ordinary habits were unconventional. The

slavery issue had then just loomed up afresh by the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, and I was profoundly impressed with his courage and patriotism in standing up as a Southern Senator and opposing that measure because, as he predicted, it was the open door to future fraternal strife. He was thoroughly loyal to the Union, and believed that slavery was its greatest peril. When I bade him good-bye I felt that I had never enjoyed a more entertaining and instructive journey than the ride with Sam Houston from Pittsburg to Harrisburg.

I learned to know him better and to see the inner qualities of the man in the winter of 1858. A member of my family had accompanied another lady, who spent much of her time in my household, to Washington for a visit to the lady's father, who was then in Congress representing President Buchanan's native county. They stopped at the Kirkwood, where Houston made his home and often had a circle of the more cultivated Indians about him, especially the Cherokees. One evening while the ladies were in their room dressing to attend a reception at the President's, the Congressman's daughter, who wore a white evening dress of combustible material, had left a candle on the floor at the side of the room that had been used for finishing her slippers, and after completing her toilet she walked around the room while waiting for her friend. In doing so the large hoops then worn swung her dress out to the candle and she was instantly enveloped in flame. Her companion was suffering from cold and fortunately had dressed in heavy brocade silk, and was thus saved in her rush to rescue her friend. Both screamed and the door was speedily broken in, and a gentleman, an entire stranger to both, enveloped the suffering lady in his cloak and saved her life, although she was terribly burned, and for months she trembled in the balance between life and death. It was impossible to remove her to her home, in Chambersburg; her companion could not leave her, and I spent a part of every week that could be spared from legislative duties at Harrisburg in Washington.

Houston was one of the most gallant and chivalrous of men, and when he heard of this misfortune to the young lady, with whose father he was well acquainted, he made several visits daily to see or inquire of the invalid. The Congressman whose daughter had thus been saved by a stranger naturally poured out a father's sincerest gratitude. After learning

that it was Postmaster John N. Jones, of Madison, Wis., who was the hero of the occasion, he begged to know of his daughter's benefactor whether it was possible for him to render him any service. Jones said that he was simply on a visit to Washington hoping to obtain his reappointment of Postmaster of Madison, the capital of Wisconsin, and that he would be in the city but a few days. Houston learned the facts, and at once had the Congressman introduce him to Jones, to whom he said: "These young ladies can and they must secure your appointment." Jones answered promptly that he would not ask or expect any such return for the service he had accidentally rendered to an endangered lady that would have been given by anyone; but Houston made Jones' case his own, and, learning that both ladies were known to the President and came from his native heath, insisted that the ladies should unite in a note to President Buchanan asking for the appointment of Jones as Postmaster of Madison. The Congressman hesitated about having his daughter placed in a position that was certainly one of great delicacy, and that might be regarded by the President as an unwarranted presumption, but Houston would have no denial, and he drew up a brief letter which he requested them to copy and sign, which they did; and Houston (although not in hearty political accord with Buchanan), the Congressman and myself called upon the President, to whom Houston presented the letter. The President, always severely dignified, was kindly affected by this strange intrusion in the politics of his Administration. He knew and highly esteemed the ladies, and after some reflection answered that General Cass, then Secretary of State, and the member of the Cabinet from the Northwest, had another candidate for the position, Editor E. A. Calkins, whose appointment was practically settled, but he added that he would submit the matter to General Cass and hoped it might be adjusted. When the President submitted the letter to Cass he assured his Secretary of State that the appointment that had been determined upon should not be changed without his consent, adding that he would be glad, however, if Cass could see his way clear to yield. When Cass learned the circumstances he promptly replied that Jones should be appointed, and in that way, and only in that way, did Mr. Jones become Postmaster of the capital of his State. He appreciated the service rendered to him by the ladies, and regularly corres-

ponded with them during the remainder of their lives. Both died 17 years later within a few months of each other.

This circumstance brought me into very close and delightful relations with Houston, as I spent two or three days of every week in Washington for some two months. He was very fond of ladies' society, and always elegant and graceful when in their presence, and he had a party to attend the theatre or a reception nearly every night that I spent in Washington, on which occasions he always escorted the companion of the invalid, and often assigned to me an accomplished Indian lady. During most of the time there were a number of Cherokee ladies at the same hotel, chiefly or wholly daughters of chiefs and not one of pure Indian blood. They were highly educated and in every way accomplished, and I remember Houston's favorite among them was a Miss Pichlin, who was a most attractive and fascinating young lady and thoroughly refined and womanly, as I had opportunity to learn by escorting her at a number of Houston's social occasions.

Under the circumstances I could not fail to be greatly attracted to Houston in 1858, when, as the most distinguished of all the Southern men in Congress, he had the courage to oppose the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, to refuse to sign the Southern address, and to oppose the Kansas-Nebraska policy, including the Le Compton constitution. He was nothing if not heroic, and yet his heroism was of a quiet and most unostentatious type; but when he took his stand, dictated by his patriotic convictions, he was as immovable as the rock of Gibraltar. I heard him many times discussing the new phase of the slavery issue precipitated by the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, and by the savage efforts made to force slavery into Kansas and Nebraska, and I distinctly recall his predictions of fraternal war, which were so fearfully realized, and which spread the wings of the angel of sorrow over the whole land, and left vacancy in almost every household circle. Like most if not all of our great men, he was ambitious to be President, and he did not conceal it. He spoke of it with the freedom that he would speak of any everyday affair, but saw little hope of attaining it. His one regret was that there was no Jackson to rally the Democratic party and save the country. Jackson was his ideal; he had no sympathy whatever with those who would make slavery para-

mount to the Union of the States, and he seemed to be painfully oppressed by the apprehension that his own State, that owed more to him than to any score of others, would desert him. He had been a candidate for Governor in 1857, supported largely by the American organization, and was defeated; but the old warrior was not conquered, and he declared his purpose to renew the battle for the Governorship in 1859. He did so, and was elected over the man who had defeated him two years before, but he had that last vindication from his people only to place him on a higher pinnacle and make his fall the greater when they deserted him.

He was prominently discussed as a candidate for President in 1860, and the National Convention of the Constitutional Union party, which met at Baltimore, on the 9th of May, was really devised and called by those who expected to make Houston the candidate for President; but, before the Convention met, the grave peril to the Union presented by the issues of that year made the Southern Whigs, who were largely represented in that body, determine on Senator John Bell, of Tennessee, as the strongest Union candidate. On the first ballot Houston was only 11 votes behind Bell; but, on the second, Bell was nominated by a decided majority. Houston took no active part in the quadrangular Presidential battle of that year. He labored most earnestly as Governor of that State to strengthen the Union sentiment, but with the election of Lincoln came a tidal wave of secession that overwhelmed him. He vetoed the bill passed by the Legislature calling a secession convention, but it was passed over his veto with a yell, and by an almost unanimous vote. The convention met, secession was adopted, and all State officers were required to take the oath of allegiance to the Confederacy. This the grand old friend and follower of Jackson refused to do, and his great career was ended by his humiliating displacement from the office to which the people had called him, and, broken in heart and hope, two years later death brought him the repose that life denied him.

I had never had opportunity to visit Texas until the early part of the present year, and I spent a day in historic San Antonio, where Crockett, Travis, Bowie and others, 145 in all, deliberately resolved to fight until the last man had fallen, and sealed the compact with their lives. The Alamo yet stands in

the central part of the now beautiful city, and practically unchanged since the day it was deeply crimsoned with the blood of the Texas patriots. There yet stands the Cathedral steeple from which Santa Anna observed his brutal murderers in their fiendish war, and the old Alamo, battered by the storms of centuries and unchanged internally or externally, is yet visited by liberty-loving people from every clime. It was this terrible butchery that Houston so fearfully avenged at San Jacinto only a few weeks later, and his name and memory are inseparably interwoven with the grateful recollections of the patriots who died in defense of the freedom of their State. The monument erected to the victims of the Alamo tells the whole story in the brief but most eloquent sentence: "Thermopylæ had her messengers of defeat; the Alamo had none."

## THE LOUISIANA LOTTERY ROBBERY.

The story of the birth and death of the Louisiana Lottery Company would read like a picturesquely lurid romance. It was born in the appalling floodtide of political debauchery that cast an inefaceable blot on the escutcheon of the State of Louisiana and her carpet-bag rule in 1868, and its convulsive death throes agitated the country from centre to circumference for several years before its taking off. In its creation and in its costly and disastrous struggle to secure a renewal of its life by an extension of its charter it was inseparably interwoven with the political conflicts of Louisiana; but its desperate struggle for mastery extended into every State and territory, and it was strongly intrenched in the highest councils of the nation by those who shared its lavish expenditure for service rendered in protecting its interests. It was altogether the most colossal private speculative enterprise in the history of the nation, and even with its expenditure of millions annually to conciliate opposition and to enable it to command the tolerance of the country, all connected with it finally retired as multi-millionaires.

Two libel suits brought by Maximilian A. Dauphin, president of the Louisiana Lottery Company, in which I had the honor of being the defendant, brought me into very intimate relations with the movement for the final suppression of the lottery, and enabled me to render some service in quickening the Congressional action that finally doomed the lottery to destruction.

New Orleans with its large Latin population, was long the centre of the lottery business of this country even after it had perished in all the States, and the Havana, Royal Saxon, Hamburg and other lotteries in foreign lands did a thriving business in the Crescent City. It was the success of the foreign lotteries that induced John A. Morris, Z. E. Simmons and C. H. Murray to apply to the Louisiana Legislature in 1868 for a charter for the Louisiana State Lottery Company. The formal applicants to the Legislature were men of straw, and when the charter was



obtained it was transferred to the men before named, and with the exception of the transfer of the Simmons interest to Charles T. Howard, the real owners of the enterprise were not changed until it was finally overthrown in 1893. The Legislature that granted this charter is remembered as the most reckless and profligate legislative body that ever disgraced the State. In addition to chartering the lottery it licensed public gambling houses, and gave protection to every form of crime under color of law that was able to pay for its privilege. The people were impoverished by war, and later by the spoliation that attended the new rule that the war gave to the South, and when the Lottery Company offered the payment of an annuity of \$40,000 a year to a charity hospital it was openly defended by a majority of the people.

No business enterprise was ever managed with greater skill to disarm the criticism that a lottery enterprise would naturally provoke. Generals Early and Beauregard, two of the very prominent Confederate Generals were each paid \$10,000 a year to superintend the monthly drawings. It was simply a purchase of their names to inspire confidence in the integrity of the management, and to appeal to the cupidity of the poverty-stricken people of the South. The Lottery Company soon established an immense business, and its agencies were quietly but actively employed in every part of the country. It became the controlling political power of Louisiana. It was a master alike in city and State, and it was specially careful and earnest in its efforts to control the Courts. Its annual profits speedily rose up into millions, and the shrewd men engaged in the enterprise well understood that they must sooner or later be antagonized by all the power of aroused public sentiment. It employed the ablest counsel in all the great business centres, and paid them liberally simply to stand as sentinels on the outposts to warn against threatened danger, and to aid when peril actually confronted it; and it paid double and treble prices for advertisements in all the leading newspapers which would accept them.

Soon after I had become responsibly connected with journalism in Philadelphia I was surprised by the repeated offers made by agents of the Louisiana Lottery Company to pay as high as quadruple prices to have advertisements inserted in the paper with which I was connected. They were uniformly declined; but

when I thus came to understand the extent of the business that was carried on in Philadelphia alone, I found that not less than \$50,000 a year was paid here for lottery advertising, notwithstanding the law of Pennsylvania that prohibited such advertisements. I had the question raised in the Courts, but it was held that our statute was defective, as the penalty was imposed solely upon the advertiser and not upon the publisher. I then framed a bill making it a penal offense for publishers as well as advertisers to give publicity to lotteries, and to my surprise it was earnestly opposed by a number of prominent men who certainly were not influenced solely by their regard for the public interests. Several positive and incisive criticisms of the criminal lottery policy then maintained in Pennsylvania appeared in the newspaper of which I was editor, and the best journals of the State were aroused to such emphatic expression on the subject that the Legislature finally passed the bill that made it impossible to advertise lotteries in Pennsylvania.

This legislation was enacted in 1883, when the managers of the lottery company felt that they were omnipotent, and they decided on a policy of revenge. An action was brought by Maximilian A. Dauphin, president of the Louisiana Lottery Company, against *The Times*, of which I was editor, in the United States Circuit Court for the Eastern District of Pennsylvania, No. 20, of the October session, 1883. Mr. Rufus E. Shapley appeared for the newspaper company, promptly filed a demurrer and pressed for a hearing whenever opportunity offered. The hearing was delayed time and again by the plaintiff's counsel, and was finally forced to trial before Judges McKennan and Butler, who, after hearing only a part of the argument, sustained the demurrer, declaring that lottery dealing was a lawless occupation in Pennsylvania and could claim no protection from criticism in accord with the laws of the State and nation which pronounced it a crime. Counsel for the lottery company took an appeal to the Supreme Court of the United States, where in the natural course of hearing it would require three years to reach a final judicial determination.

In January, 1885, I visited the New Orleans Exposition. I was well acquainted with Mr. Burke, the president of the enterprise; had met him many times in Washington when he was urging the claims of the Exposition upon Congress. He was

then editor of *The Times-Democrat*, one of the leading journals of the State. I gladly aided him in my very humble way in his efforts to obtain Congressional aid, and in January, 1885, he wrote me a very pressing letter urging me to come and see the Exposition, as he desired to confer with me on the question of appealing to Congress for an additional appropriation of \$300,000. The Exposition was a failure financially, and was in danger of collapse. I had several times joined Mr. Burke in conferring with Mr. Randall, then chairman of appropriations, when the first aid to the Exposition was obtained, and he desired me to make a personal visit to ascertain the merits of the enterprise and aid him in getting additional relief from Congress. When I arrived at New Orleans I was met by a United States Marshal while yet in the car, and served with a writ issued by the United States Court at the suit of Maximilian A. Dauphin, president of the Louisiana Lottery Company, claiming \$100,000 damages for libelling the lottery. The president of the company was so delighted with his achievement of getting me within the jurisdiction of his Courts, which he expected to control absolutely, that he had the fact of his service of process upon me given to the Associated Press and telegraphed throughout the country.

I confess I was somewhat disturbed, because I knew of the almost unlimited power of the Lottery Company, extending even to Courts and juries; and when I arrived at the St. Charles Hotel, of which my old friend, Colonel Rivers, was host, I told him of the writ that was served upon me and asked him where I could find an able and honest lawyer who was entirely independent of the lottery. He said frankly: "We are all in it here, and I hardly know how to advise you; but there is one man that you can trust, and that man is Governor Nichols." The Governor came into the hotel during the evening and he exhibited great interest in the case. He said it was likely to do them great harm throughout the country, as they were just about to make application to Congress for an additional appropriation of \$300,000 to save the Exposition from disaster; but he confessed that he did not see how it was possible for me to escape without paying a round sum in damages to the Lottery Company; that the sentiment of the community was with the lottery; that the officials of the city, executive and judicial, were generally in sympathy with them, and that it would be impossible to get

a jury that would not resolve all doubts in their favor; and he finally concluded that I should get an adjustment of the matter on the best basis I could. He gave me the name of Mr. J. McConnell as a lawyer whose ability and fidelity I could accept without question, and one of the very few members of the Bar who could be relied upon to conduct the case against the Lottery Company.

The notice of the suit and service of the writ was published in the New Orleans papers, and before I had breakfast I was called upon by three prominent bankers, not one of whom I had ever met before, and all I believe friendly to the Lottery Company. They stated that they deplored the action of the president of the Lottery Company; that it was calculated to do New Orleans great injury in the North and in Washington, and that they had come to offer any security I might be required to give in the action. I thanked them for their kindness and informed them that it was a civil suit and no security would be required. I should add here that early in the morning I received a dispatch from the late William M. Singerly, who had seen the news of the service from the writ in his own paper, saying: "\$50,000 to your credit in Philadelphia National Bank for any security you may be required to give." Soon after the committee of bankers had gone a committee of three lawyers, all strangers to me, called and stated that the New Orleans Bar had instructed them to say that the suit brought against me would be defended by the Bar without cost to me. I cordially thanked them for their kindness, and said that I had not yet determined what course I would adopt in answering the suit of President Dauphin, and that I would confer with them later if their services could be accepted. I next called on Mr. McConnell and we went over the case with care. He proved to be a very able and accomplished lawyer, and rugged in his fidelity to any cause against the Louisiana Lottery Company, whose franchise he had opposed as a member of the Constitutional Convention. He told me frankly, however, that there seemed to be no possible means of escape from judgment, as the Judges, the Marshal who draws the jurors, and the community generally were in sympathy with the Louisiana Lottery, which was lavish in its beneficent gifts to charity and to the public. I said that I desired to get the case to the Supreme Court of the United States, where I was satisfied the charter

could be overthrown; but his answer was that they would never permit such an appeal, that there was appeal only in cases of judgment of \$5000 or more, and that a verdict would be found against me something under \$5000.

I had previously learned from present Senator Hawley, of Connecticut, and from ex-Attorney General MacVeagh, the inside history of the method by which the Lottery Company had obtained its charter in the amended constitution. They were members of the committee sent by President Hayes to Louisiana to advise in the adjustment of the dispute between the Nichols and Packard Legislatures. Both Nichols and Packard were assuming to act as Governors, and two Legislatures were in session. It was the policy of the Hayes Administration to bring about the recognition of Nichols as Governor, and to give him a Legislature that would be undisputed. They found that that could be accomplished only by transferring from the Packard Legislature enough Senators and Representatives whose elections were undisputed to the Nichols Legislature to give it a quorum in both branches. With the execution of the programme the commission had nothing whatever to do; but those who undertook to accomplish it found that the only way by which enough Senators and Representatives could be transferred from Packard to Nichols was to buy them outright and at very high prices. The property people of the city and State, who had everything involved in attaining an honest government, were utterly impoverished and without the means to accomplish the legislative transfer.

In this emergency the Louisiana Lottery Company came to the front and proposed to pay whatever might be necessary to accomplish the change of the Legislative authority to Nichols, provided the Democrats would give the Louisiana Lottery Company a charter in the new Constitution for the period of their legislative charter. Nichols was opposed to the whole lottery business, but in their extremity the lottery proposition had to be accepted. It was accepted, and the cost, amounting to nearly or quite \$250,000, was paid by the lottery company, resulting in Packard being left without a quorum in either Senate or House in a very few days; and his administration thus perished. The people who had made the contract with the lottery company carried it out in good faith, although it was bitterly opposed by

many members of the convention. The charter to the lottery company was embodied in the Constitution, giving it the highest authority of the State and relieving it from the possibility of legislative repeal.

I presented these facts to my counsel, with abundant evidence to establish them, and proposed to enter the plea of justification in the libel suit with a view of reaching the Supreme Court. He advised me strongly against it at first, because he feared that we could not get to the Supreme Court, as the verdict against me would be less than the amount that was appealable. I met him the next day and he was still in doubt, and I said that I could probably solve the problem by making a claim for malicious vexations and costly prosecution on the part of the lottery company. I showed him that the very same libels charged in that case had been charged in the libel in the United States Court in Pennsylvania and had been dismissed on demurrer, and that now, in the same tribunal in another State, they brought an action for the same alleged libel while the other case was pending on appeal in the Supreme Court of the United States. He admonished me that it would be a very costly and protracted litigation, to which I answered that I was prepared for that, as I confidently expected to make the lottery company pay all expenses before we got through. He said that if I was clear in my own judgment as to that mode of procedure he would accept it. I then directed him to proceed with the plea of justification, and he added the plea in reconvention, equivalent to our set off in the common-law States claiming \$25,000 damages, as that would give the right of appeal to the Supreme Court regardless of the verdict of the jury.

It was an exceedingly difficult and delicate plea to frame, in view of the fact that in the State where the alleged libel was published the lottery business was criminal, while in the State of Louisiana, where the action was brought, it had the high sanction of the Constitution. I relieved Mr. McConnell by stating that I would have the plea prepared in Philadelphia by Mr. Shapley, and when I returned Mr. Shapley framed the plea, covering 76 pages of a printed pamphlet, justifying the alleged libel, declaring that the Louisiana Lottery had no charter, and that all its acts were lawless, and reciting the ground on which the \$25,000 damages were claimed. Added to the plea were the

statutes of every State and Territory in the Union making the selling of lottery tickets a penal offense, and in accordance with the practice of Louisiana interrogatories were filed for President Dauphin to answer.

These interrogatories were of the most searching character, and if answered truthfully would have exposed Dauphin and his agents to prosecution in every State and Territory, in many of which the penalty was not only fine, but imprisonment. Mr. McConnell promptly filed the answer and demanded speedy hearing, as we had all agreed; but from the day that the plea was filed the lottery people saw that they were in for a fight to a finish, and that no matter what verdict was given in the Court below, it would be appealed to the Supreme Court of the United States, and they knew that they could not maintain the validity of their charter. Twice the Judge of the district postponed it against our protest, and next the Judge of the adjoining district was called in and he finally fixed the day for the trial to proceed. Further postponement might have been possible but for the fact that it had become known that Judge Wood, the Supreme Court Judge of that district, was likely to preside at the trial, and that ended all hope of the manipulation of the case in the Courts. I had called on Senator Edmunds and Senator Hawley on my return from New Orleans soon after the suit had been brought, went over the whole situation with them, and Senator Edmunds proposed as one measure of safety that he would specially request Judge Wood to preside at the trial, and he consented to do so.

This action of the Lottery Company did more to precipitate its final overthrow than any other one cause outside of the general and growing prejudice against what was regarded as a lottery swindle. Two laws had been enacted by Congress to restrain the use of the mails for lottery purposes, but they were practically inoperative; and the fact that the president of the Lottery Company had brought an action against the Postmaster General, claiming \$100,000 damages for restraining his use of the mails, gave additional reason why there should be more decisive legislation against this growing evil. The late Benjamin Harris Brewster was then Attorney General, and Mr. Shapley and I called upon him to have him intervene on the part of the Government and go into the Supreme Court with us to ask the advance-

ment of the appeal of the Lottery Company from the judgment of the United States Court in *The Times* libel case. Notice was given to ex-Judge Campbell, the immediate counsel of the Lottery Company, that such application would be made and Attorney General Brewster and Mr. Shapley appeared in Court, the Attorney General intervening in behalf of the Government, and urged that the case be advanced, on the ground that the Lottery Company was interfering with the administration of the laws, vexing the officers of the Government with damage suits, and insisting that there should be a speedy and final judgment as to the rights of the company under its alleged franchise. Although the Lottery Company was claiming \$100,000 damages, it opposed the advancement of its own appeal, and the Court, always averse to advancing cases excepting under the most imperious necessity, refused the motion; but the fact was brought out before the Government and Congress that the Louisiana Lottery Company assumed to dominate not only the press of the country, but the Government itself.

The Louisiana case was delayed for over a year, always by the plaintiff's counsel, and finally a day was fixed for trial, and it became known that a Judge of the Supreme Court was certain to preside. They saw that they could no longer manipulate the case, and they saw also that the agitation in Congress was growing immensely against them. They decided, therefore, that the suit must be stopped. Two weeks before the time fixed for trial a gentleman well known in Philadelphia as the immediate representative of the Lottery Company called upon me and proposed to discontinue the case and pay the costs if I would agree not to discuss the subject in the columns of my newspaper. The answer was that the columns of the newspaper could not be involved in any agreement; that the suit was a civil action brought by themselves, which they could discontinue at their pleasure without consulting me; that under no circumstances could I accept a dollar of their money, but that I should in some way proceed against them for the costs which they had imposed upon me. He then asked me to name the amount. I named very liberal fees for the counsel and the actual expenses for the counsel and the actual expenses of depositions, printing, etc., amounting in all to \$8500, which if paid by the company before the trial, would end all legal controversy between us. Within twenty-



four hours a check was delivered for the money, and my two libel suits for \$100,000 each for the Louisiana Lottery Company were ended.

For this early and safe deliverance from the vengeance of a colossal organization that for years had asserted its omnipotence, I am greatly indebted to Senator Edmunds, Senator Hawley, late Attorney General Benjamin H. Brewster, ex-Attorney General Wayne MacVeagh and General Bingham, Representative from my own Congressional district, and chairman of the Post Office Committee. The intervention of the Government in my case then pending in the Supreme Court summoned Congress to the duty of adopting the most aggressive measures to overthrow this terrible stain upon our Government. General Bingham led the battle in the House, while Edmunds and Hawley led it in the Senate, and the Lottery Company was finally driven from the use of the mails. More and more stringent measures were adopted, finally excluding the transmission of newspapers which contained lottery advertisements, and when the company finally abandoned the mails and employed the express companies to handle its correspondence, the Government again interposed its strong arm, and compelled the express companies to abandon the lawless traffic.

Notwithstanding the overwhelming tide of retribution that finally surged against the Lottery Company, it was unwilling to confess that its omnipotence was overthrown. Its charter obtained in the constitution of Louisiana in 1879 distinctly provided that on its expiration in 1893 it should not be renewed. In the face of this positive contract with the State that was crystallized in the supreme law, and in the face of the irresistible opposition of both the government and people the Lottery Company decided to ask for a renewal of its charter, and formal application was made to the Legislature of 1890 and millions of money expended in the fruitless effort. When New Orleans was threatened with the yellow fever epidemic the Lottery Company furnished the Board of Health means to enforce quarantine and protect the city, and when the Mississippi River overflowed its banks and threatened the destruction of the city the Lottery Company came to the front and furnished the means necessary to meet the emergency, without any claim of restitution. In order to conciliate business interests it established large sugar refineries,

erected immense buildings in the city, and when the application was made to the Legislature it embraced the payment of an annuity to the State of \$750,000, which was afterward increased to a million, and later to a million and a quarter. It required a two-thirds vote in both branches to extend its charter over the constitutional prohibition, and after an immense expenditure of money the charter was carried in the Senate by a single vote, and that vote cast by a Senator who was brought into the chamber on his death bed, and who died soon thereafter. In the House the measure was carried by two majority. But when the charter extension had been carried by the Legislature it required the approval of the popular vote, as it involved an amendment of the constitution; and after a most violent campaign, in which many of the leading ministers and best citizens of the State were aggressively arrayed against the Lottery Company, it was finally compelled to withdraw its proposition for an extended charter from the people and confess itself utterly defeated, although it lingered on until the expiration of its charter with its business reduced to little more than sustaining expenses. When the constitutional limit of its existence was reached, in 1893, it became only a painful memory of the triumph and retribution of the lottery robbery.

## THOMAS CORWIN, THE GREATEST OF OUR POPULAR ORATORS.

Thomas Corwin, of Ohio, was confessed by friend and foe as the foremost popular orator of the country. He was the admitted leader of a type of orators which has perished by the progress of railroads, telegraphs and all the other features of advanced civilization. They grew up in the sparsely settled Western and Southwestern States, where the only means of reaching the people was by mass meeting. Newspapers and schools were rare, and all popular movements, political or otherwise, were conducted entirely by mass assemblies; and these conditions developed a type of popular orators that has made the names of men like Corwin, Prentiss and others immortal.

When it is remembered that when Corwin first entered politics as a candidate for the Legislature just eighty years ago in Ohio, then called the "backwoods," letter postage between Philadelphia and Corwin's home was 37½ cents, and that few of the struggling pioneers could afford to spare the price of a letter from their scant earnings, the richly blessed people of today can in some measure appreciate the conditions which developed a host of popular orators, who were not only great on the hustings, but who asserted their grandeur in the councils of the nation. I saw something of this condition as late as 1872 in North Carolina, when I was assigned to a week of campaigning for Greeley in the rural districts and away from the only two railway lines then in the State. At every meeting I saw a majority of the voters of the entire country, and when there was not an ox roast to give a free feed to the people they brought their own provisions, many coming with watermelons balanced on their heads. The meetings lasted from 10 or 11 in the morning until late at night, with relays of speakers. The people would give two days—that is, one day to each party—in the campaign, and that was the only means by which they could be reached in political conflicts. When railroads, telegraphs and newspapers became acces-

sible to nearly every home the hustings became secondary to the school and press, and, while we still have armies of popular orators for our political contests they are no longer the factors that they were in olden times, and the development of popular oratory is without the incentive that inspired men like Corwin to become masters in the art of moving great multitudes from the platform.

Corwin's parents moved from Fayette county, Pennsylvania, to Bourbon county, Kentucky, where he was born on the 29th of July, 1794, and four years later his father and mother with their six children moved to what is now the city of Lebanon, Ohio. His father was entirely a self-made man, and became a legislator, Speaker of the House and Associate Judge. His father desired to give the best possible education to his children, but he felt unable to give more than one of them an opportunity to attend the schools of that day. Matthias, being the oldest, was given the preference, while Thomas was compelled to work on the farm and became known as the one of the family who was the teamster, and in early life gained the nickname of "the wagon boy," a term that became very familiar in his later political campaigns. He had access to the textbooks of his brother, and by hard study at night he made very rapid progress in academic studies, including Latin, and finally when nineteen years of age began the study of law. Even before his admission to the Bar he became known as one of the most skillful debaters in the local contests, which were quite common in those days, as the orator was the universal school teacher of the time. He was elected to the Legislature in 1821, and re-elected the following year without opposition. He was one of the most popular members of the body, but declined a third term to devote himself to his profession. Seven years later, when party lines were being sharply defined for and against Jackson, he again entered the Legislature, and the following year was elected to Congress by over 700 majority by leading his party ticket over 1000, and he was re-elected in the four succeeding contests, his last run, in 1838, being practically without opposition.

In the early part of Corwin's service in Congress he took rank among the leading statesmen of the party. He was the author of the bill chartering the United States Bank, which was overthrown by Jackson, and he was the author of a new protective

tariff bill, and of one of the first of the comprehensive measures proposed for internal improvements. During his last term in Congress he won not only national but world-wide fame by a speech delivered in the House in vindication of General Harrison, then a candidate for the Presidency, and in reply to General Crary of Michigan. In all our Congressional annals that speech is without an equal in mingled eloquence, wit and invective. He was retired from Congress in 1840 by his acceptance of the Whig nomination for Governor, and was elected by 16,000 majority; but two years later, in the demoralization that Tylerism produced, he was defeated for re-election. He was again tendered the nomination for Governor in 1844, but declined it, and took the position as head of the Whig electoral ticket. The Whigs carried the State and Legislature, and Corwin was practically without opposition when the Legislature came to choose a Senator.

With all his great ability as a disputant, Corwin was not heard in the Senate until nearly the close of the second session in which he served, when he delivered a most impressive speech in favor of land bounties to the soldiers of the Mexican war; and the great speech of his life, and one of the greatest in the record of American statesmanship, was delivered in the Senate on the 11th of February, 1847, against the further prosecution of the Mexican war. That speech certainly stands second only to Webster's reply to Hayne in the list of the great orations of the century. It was great not only in argument, in eloquence and in forceful presentation of the truth, but it was conspicuously great in the courage that inspired it. While all of the Whigs of that time were opposed to precipitating war with Mexico, and held that it was done by the President without authority, only a very few of them refused to vote supplies to the army when our troops were in the field fighting for the flag; but Corwin boldly proclaimed that he could vote no supplies whatever to a war that was waged solely for spoliation. It was in this speech that he said: "If I were a Mexican, I would tell you: 'Have you not room in your own country to bury your dead men? If you come into mine we will greet you with bloody hands, and welcome you to hospitable graves.'" Few of his party associates indorsed the extreme position he assumed, but his integrity of conviction was so universally conceded that all respected and

loved him. Although he opposed the compromise measures of 1850, which were supported by the Fillmore wing of the party as against the Taylor Administration, when Fillmore became President he called Corwin to the Treasury portfolio, where he remained until the close of the Administration in 1853.

Of all the many public men I have met I regard Corwin as one of the most genial and delightful in companionship, and one of the most brilliant in eloquence. He was of imposing stature, with a somewhat round, full face that beamed with good-fellowship, an eye that kindled brightly even in ordinary conversation, and he could convulse an audience when indulging in his keen witticisms by his facial expressions. I first met him in 1858 when in legislative service at Harrisburg. At that time the Legislature had the power to grant divorces with or without reason, and a divorce case that convulsed high social circles in Philadelphia, and that evaded the Courts chiefly because of the lack of merit on the side of the applicant, was brought to Harrisburg, and a statutory separation demanded. The respondent was represented by George M. Wharton, one of the ablest members of the Philadelphia bar. The father of the petitioning wife had been a barefooted chum with Corwin in their boyhood days in the back woods. He had large wealth, and he was able to command the services of Corwin to argue the case before the Judiciary Committee, of which I was chairman. The general interest excited by the case, and the distinguished disputants who were to deliver the arguments before the committee made very strong pressure to have a public hearing, and the committee sat in the hall of the House, which was crowded to the uttermost.

Wharton was not only a more profound lawyer than Corwin, but he had both the law and the facts on his side of the case, and Corwin had a most difficult role to perform. When Wharton was heard there was really not a single foothold left for Corwin, and there was universal desire to see how the great popular orator of the nation would acquit himself under such disadvantageous circumstances. He arose amidst the silence of death throughout the entire hall, with his face as bright as a bridegroom's, and he entered upon his argument with all the apparent confidence of one who had every element of justice and truth on his side. Had he assumed to reply to the arguments of Wharton by attempting to refute them he would have failed ut-

terly, but he did not even give a semblance of reply on the lines of his antagonist. It was a case that had evoked a wide range of public scandals in the newspapers and in the petition and various rejoinders and sur-rejoinders, and Corwin took up the ludicrous features of the case, handled the scandals with a skill that made the audience forgetful of Wharton's resistless logic and with a wit that kept the audience convulsed with humor. Among the many scandals of the case was one that the husband and wife had quarreled during the first few days of their honeymoon, and it was imputed to the childish petulancy of the petitioner. Corwin's answer to this was certainly never forgotten during their lives by any who heard it. He said, with exquisitely assumed gravity: "Mr. Chairman, I am an old man; crowding on rapidly toward the patriarchal age, but I believe, sir, that if I were to take for a wife a beautiful, bright-eyed, rosy-cheeked, cherry-lipped girl I could keep her in humor with me for a week." I have never in my life seen a face illumined with wit and sarcasm as was Corwin's when he delivered the sentence I have quoted, and it was only one of the many gems of humor and invective which ran through his speech of an hour, in which he really said nothing beyond glittering and witty generalities. The entire audience when not convulsed with laughter was spellbound by his beautiful imagery and bewitching eloquence. When the argument closed the divorce case was forgotten in the desire to shake Corwin by the hand, although later, when the bill came up before the House, and legislators were compelled to face it in soberness, it received less than one-fourth the votes of the House.

I was fortunate enough to get possession of Corwin after the committee had adjourned, and take him to my room. It was soon crowded by Senators and Representatives who desired to enjoy a chat with him, and fully a dozen remained not only until the wee sma' hours had come, but until the sun began to purple the East with the promise of another day. Just enough was said by those who were with him to keep him talking, and I never in my life heard a more delightful succession of incident and story. He was a man of the loveliest manner and temperament, and his life had been replete with events which made him richly laden for the entertainment of others. He seemed to enjoy it as much as the rest of us did, and never lagged in his fascinating deliver-

ances. He was of unusually swarthy complexion, and loved to tell the story which brought it out. Among other things that evening he told of an incident when he was Secretary of the Treasury, and being stopped at the inner door when going out of his office, dropped down into the chair of the colored attendant, when a dignified Senator came along, and, seeing only his swarthy face in the ill-lighted corridor, tapped him on the shoulder and ordered him to inform the Secretary of the Treasury that the Senator desired immediate admission. The mortification and bungling apology of the Senator when Corwin rose up, with his face kindled with laughter, can be readily imagined. On another occasion, when stumping in the Western Reserve of Ohio to persuade the radical anti-slavery Whigs to vote for Taylor, a slave-holder, for President, he was accosted by a lank fellow sitting on the top of a fence, and asked to explain how abolitionists could consistently support a slave-holder for the highest office of the Government. Corwin gave an evasive and somewhat humorous answer, but the fellow came back at him with the question even in more pointed form, that Corwin knew he could not answer, and he immediately assumed the humorous facial expression that I have never seen equaled in any other man, and said with admirable mock humility: "I submit, fellow-citizens, whether it is proper to put such a question to a man of my complexion." The man was not answered, but he was overwhelmed by the humor of Corwin. Unlike many of the great stumpers of early times, Corwin was entirely free from anything that approached vulgarity. He held his most exquisite eloquence so evenly balanced with his superb wit and withering invective that a vulgar jest would have grated harshly on the ears of an audience gathered to hear him speak.

I next met Corwin at the Chicago Convention of 1860. He had recovered from the disaster that followed his speech against the Mexican war, and as he told me, he was more gratified when his old friends summoned him to accept the Whig nomination for Congress in 1858 and elected him by a large majority, than he had been at any political success in his life. The Ohio delegation was then earnestly supporting Chase for President and Corwin gave his best efforts to win success for his candidate. While he was ever thoroughly faithful to Chase, it was only natural that when Lincoln loomed up prominently as a candidate Corwin



would be in sympathy with him, and he spoke of Lincoln's probable success as a result that would be most gratifying to him in view of the unavailability of his preferred candidate. He had been in retirement for some years after he left the Cabinet, and, I think, had not been heard or recognized as a political factor even in Ohio until he was made a candidate for Congress in 1858. It seemed to reinspire him with hope of a new career, and he entered into it with all his rare faculties unabated. His long experience in Congress and his intimate personal acquaintance with the Southern leaders, with whom he was a great favorite, notwithstanding his strong anti-slavery views, made him very apprehensive that civil war was inevitable. I remember his discussion of the subject at Chicago before the nomination for President had been made, and his usually bright face was shadowed in sadness as he spoke of the earnest purpose of the South to maintain and extend slavery, even by secession and war if necessary. He was re-elected to Congress the same year, and was one of the few who met in Washington after Lincoln's inauguration who justly estimated the power and desperation of the South.

It was known at the beginning of the war that Napoleon III was positively and determinedly hostile to the Union and sympathized with the South. He would have acknowledged the Confederacy had he not been restrained by England and by powerful admonitions from statesmen and prelates, and foreign intervention in Mexico was then generally discussed in political and diplomatic circles. Napoleon's apparent opportunity to overthrow the Monroe doctrine by intervening in Mexico was well understood by the Administration, and Lincoln did a very wise thing in taking Corwin from Congress and sending him as Minister to Mexico, where he received a more kindly welcome than could possibly have been given to any other American. His speech against the spoliation of Mexico was well remembered, and his position as Minister brought the Juarez Administration into the highest accord with our Government. He remained in Mexico until Maximilian reached the capital and established his empire, when he was given leave of absence, and he returned to Washington in 1864 to confer with the Government and receive further instructions; leaving his son, William Henry Corwin, in charge of the legation. Soon after he reached Washington he

decided to resign his office as Minister and settle in Washington to practice his profession. It is needless to say that he was a universal favorite in every department of the Government, and he was rapidly attaining great success as an attorney, but in less than two years the grim reaper called him to join the great majority beyond. During his stay in Washington he was the central figure at all social gatherings, and although somewhat feeble physically his mental powers maintained their wonderful vigor to the last. On social occasions he would find a comfortable chair or sofa, sit down, and the remainder of the evening would divide the audience with the hosts of the occasion. Wherever he went he would be surrounded by as many as could hear his conversation. On the 18th of December, 1865, he was a guest at the residence of Mr. Whetmore, Military State Agent of Ohio. Among the notable persons present were Generals Hayes and Garfield, Senator Wade and nearly or quite all the distinguished Ohioans who were at the capital. In the early part of the evening he was seated on the sofa with General Hayes by his side, giving a graphic story of the condition of affairs in Mexico. Bluff Ben Wade suddenly stopped him to put the inquiry: "They say, Corwin, that those Mexicans want to be annexed to the United States. What do you think of it?" Before he could answer his face was suddenly shadowed, his eyes became lustreless, and when he raised his head to speak his tongue was palsied. In a few moments he fell forward into the arms of surrounding friends, and the great life of one of the purest and best of our statesmen, and the greatest of all our popular orators, was ended.

## KOSSUTH, THE GREAT APOSTLE OF LIBERTY.

Hero worship is one of the many sweet dreams of youth. They are often rudely dispelled, but many linger with us in grateful memories, and one of my idols created and deified in the vigorous enthusiasm of youth, that remained unshattered, was that of Louis Kossuth, the Hungarian patriot, who was the guest of the republic just half a century ago. The nineteenth century produced many great champions of human freedom, but Louis Kossuth stands out distinctly overshadowing all its eminent apostles of liberty. I noted his heroic and romantic career with tireless interest, and when he was welcomed to our shores as the invited guest of our Government, and startled the country and the world by his matchless eloquence in behalf of human rights, I was among the most enthusiastic of his hearers. When he was accorded a public reception in Independence Hall on the 24th of December, 1851, I journeyed 150 miles to meet and greet the great leader of Hungarian freedom.

The startling events which transpired in our own green land within a decade after the visit of Kossuth so wholly absorbed the interests and efforts of our people as to efface from memory the tragic story of Kossuth's struggles for Hungarian liberty; but there is today, even with the sublime records of heroism and sacrifice in our own fraternal war, no story of historic or legendary lore that equals the story of the struggles of the Magyars to win and maintain their national independence. At the time of his visit the Government and people of our republic were not only in the heartiest sympathy with Kossuth and the followers of his ill-fated cause, but all the moral power of the Government—indeed, everything short of hostile intervention—was given to bleeding Hungary. His release from imprisonment was demanded by our Government in imperious tones, and it was the cause of Kossuth that enabled Webster, as Secretary of State, to round out his great life by his celebrated Hulseman letter,

that stands today among the Webster deliverances as second only to his reply to Hayne.

A Government vessel was sent, by direction of Congress, to bring Kossuth to our shores as the guest of the nation, and when he arrived here he was welcomed at the White House by President Fillmore, who was one of the most conservative of our Executives, by a speech that expressed his unqualified sympathy with the Hungarian people. Both branches of Congress invited Kossuth to visit the chambers, where he received a grand ovation, and was heard in the hall made historic by the eloquence of Clay, Webster and Calhoun in defence of his suffering country. He was also invited by Congress to a dinner, where Webster, as Secretary of State, spoke for the Government; Judge Wayne, of the Supreme Court, for the Judiciary; General Shields for the army, and Mr. Stanton, of Tennessee, for the navy, declaring that it was "not only the principal defence of liberty at home, but when needed it would strike a blow for liberty everywhere." Kossuth's response to the sentiment, "Hungary, represented in the person of our honored guest," was undoubtedly the ablest of the many utterances he delivered during his six months' sojourn in this country.

Great events crowd upon each other so closely in the wonderful progress of the age that the present generation is inclined to forgetfulness of the heroic records of the past. When Kossuth visited us he and his loved ones had been ruthlessly separated, imprisoned and exposed to almost every possible privation and insult short of death. His gallant soldiers had defeated the Austrians on many battlefields, and would have become the master instead of the subject of Austria, had not an alliance been formed between Austria, Prussia and Russia for the destruction of the Hungarian kingdom. The nineteenth century presents no war in Christian or Pagan lands that excels the fiendish atrocity of the Austrians in their struggle to overthrow the Hungarian nationality.

The record of the race from which Kossuth sprang is the most romantic and heroic of any people of the world's history. When the warlike Tartars, who roamed the plains between Siberia and the milder valleys of China, were apparently mastered by the Chinese and excluded by the construction of the great Chinese wall, dissensions in their own ranks in the latter

part of the first century made many of them follow the setting sun to found a new home and country. A portion of them rested on the Ural River in Asia, but many more continued their search until they reached Europe north of the Black Sea, where they remained for two centuries. They gave themselves the name of Huns, and were tireless in their conquests of all the barbarian tribes within their reach. Finally with portions of their conquered tribes they reached the valley of the Danube, and there gave to the world the name of Hungary. In the early part of the fifth century they were the most heroic and most feared nationality of Europe, and compelled even the Romans to pay them liberal tribute to escape a war of desolation.

Attila, "the scourge of God," became their ruler, and his conquests made Hungary the largest kingdom of the world. He conquered from Gaul to Persia, gave desolation to the peoples between the Black and the Adriatic Seas; besieged Constantinople, invested Rome, and was never decisively defeated in battle. Wherever the tread of his vast army was heard he became either master of the country or compelled it to give liberal tribute. At the death of Attila the great empire of the Huns was broken into fragments, but they maintained their home on the Danube, and gradually mingled with other peoples which grew up around them. Nearly five centuries after the Tartar adventurers had reached Europe the descendants of their brethren who had made their home in Asia, and had attained the mastery of every tribe near the Caspian Sea, where they were known as Magyars, tired of their frigid climate and decided to follow their kinsmen in search of the sunnier climes of Europe. They again turned their steps toward the setting sun, and fought their way resolutely along the Black Sea until they approached the Danube. During the next century they crossed the Carpathian Mountains and reached the beautiful plains of Hungary, and after two centuries of warfare they accomplished the entire subjugation of the people and re-established the Hungarian kingdom.

Again they became the dreaded nation of the earth. They invaded Germany; their battalions won triumphs in France, while another army was besieging Constantinople. They became conquerors of all the peoples on the Adriatic, Baltic and Black Seas, and at Brenton defeated the army of Italy with terrible slaugh-

ter. There was no nation that could meet them on the battlefield, and they made the European world pay costly tribute to their mastery. For four centuries the kingdom was ruled by an unbroken line of kings, and in the fourteenth century Louis, who reigned for forty years, again made Hungary the most powerful nation of Europe. He Christianized his people by the national acceptance of the Roman creed, but after his death decay seemed to fall upon the hitherto omnipotent conquerors, and the kingdom furnished no man capable of maintaining the martial triumphs of Hungary. Despoiled of provinces and disintegrated by discontent the fatal step was taken by a weak ruler forming a matrimonial alliance with Maximilian of Austria. It was the first step of the Hapsburgs toward power in Hungary.

Hungary was convulsed by hostility to any form of alliance with Austria, and while thus practically defenceless because of internal disturbances, the Turks invaded the country and occupied the strongest fortress on the frontier. Aroused to desperation by the invasion of a hostile army into a land whose people had until then always been conquerors, the Hungarians met the Turks on the plain of Mohacs in 1526, and, although overwhelmed in numbers and assailed by the best trained troops, the heroic Hungarians maintained the conflict until their army was literally annihilated, and King Louis was drowned in his hasty retreat. Hungary was thus defeated, was kingless and its army destroyed, and Ferdinand of Austria maintained a bloody war for eleven years to overthrow Zapolya, who had been chosen king by the Hungarians, finally resulting in the partition of the kingdom. Thenceforth the history of Hungary was simply the story of civil and foreign wars, and the steadily weakening power of the Magyars resulted in the acceptance of the Austrian mastery, with the solemn promise of religious liberty, exemption from excessive taxes and the freedom of the citizen, with the right to home rule, subject to the general authority of the Hapsburgs. Frederick III of Prussia took advantage of the weakened condition of Hungary and marched an army into Silesia and quartered in its capital. This triumph inspired other claimants to Hungarian provinces; and thus after eighteen centuries of heroic struggles as victor and vanquished this valiant race had been reduced to the most abject servitude until rebellion

with death was preferred to life with submission under the relentless encroachments of Austrian despotism. The peasantry were required to give one hundred and four days' labor out of every year to their landlord, one-ninth of their produce to the Seigneur and one-tenth to the bishop.

It was in this dark hour of the history of Hungary, when there was not even a silver lining to the terrible cloud of oppression that hung like a pall over it, that Louis Kossuth rose up as a great leader of his oppressed countrymen. He had the courage to resist tyranny and the ability to rally his people to the support of their cause. He remembered that Hungary had twice in her history, under Attila and Louis, been the one power that all Europe feared, as in the earlier days all tribes feared and obeyed their forefathers on the Ural River in Asia; and when increased exactions were imposed upon the Hungarians, making their condition worse than that of the slave with the proprietary rights of the owner, Kossuth spoke trumpet-tongued to his oppressed people. He first appeared on the public stage as a substitute member of the Diet in 1836, and became famous for his publication in manuscript of a verbatim report of the Diet's proceedings. He soon offended the severe Austrian censorship, and was arrested, blindfolded and imprisoned in a dungeon.

After long confinement he was given the semblance of a trial, but was condemned and sentenced to a long period of imprisonment. His prosecution aroused the Hungarians to organized effort to throw off the intolerable yoke of Austria, his name became a household word in every Magyar home, and, after three years of confinement, Austria was compelled to release him because of the revolutionary clamor of his people. In 1847 he became a candidate for the Diet, and was opposed with desperation by the imperial power, but he was triumphantly elected. He proposed an address to the Austrian emperor, and a committee was appointed to accompany him to visit Vienna in person and urge the concession of reforms. When he and his associates reached Vienna the revolutions of 1848 were making nearly every throne of Europe totter, and the people welcomed Kossuth. The multitude accompanied him to the gates of the imperial palace with their deafening cheers. Terrorized by the revolutionary movements of Europe, the emperor granted every concession demanded, and Kossuth returned to his country, and

for a short time there was happiness throughout all Hungary, but as soon as the revolution which threatened the Austrian throne was silenced Emperor Ferdinand exhibited the treachery of the Hapsburgs, and studiously destroyed the beneficent laws he had conceded to the Magyars.

Austrian gold was lavishly expended to produce revolutionary action in Hungary. The civil and military officers were appointed by Austria, and their mission was to divide the Hungarian people. An army of 60,000 men was then sent to overthrow the last vestige of Hungarian freedom, and the leading officers of Hungary made only the semblance of resistance. The emperor then threw off the mask, dissolved the Diet, annulled all its statutes, declared martial law, proclaimed all political assemblies as treasonable, and appointed a subservient civil and military government, with absolute power. The Hungarians were thus betrayed and apparently powerless, but instead of submitting, as was expected, they were inspired to the most heroic action. Kossuth in one of his many addresses said: "Pardon my emotion; the shadows of our martyrs whose names I see here pass before my eyes, and I hear the millions of my nation once more shout for freedom or death." The Magyars rushed to the battlefield, armed with knives, hatchets and every conceivable implement, and many of them were without guns. The army of destruction, thoroughly armed and equipped, marched toward the Hungarian capital, and its advance was marked not only by murder and desolation, but by the most atrocious tortures inflicted upon the patriots. The fiendish brutality of the Austrian commander crazed the Hungarian peasantry, and an undisciplined mob commanded by General Moga met the enemy at Velentze, and defeated and routed the Austrian invaders. The defeat of one army only multiplied foes, and soon thereafter a much larger army entered Hungary to overthrow the undisciplined and illy-armed Magyars, and General Bem finally defeated the Austrian invaders, as well as the 10,000 Russians who had come to aid them; but it was another victory only to be followed by many disasters, as the Austrian army steadily extended its conquests until it was in possession of quite half the country. In the early part of 1849 the Magyars again collected their scattered forces and gave battle to 60,000 Austrians at Kapolua, and after a two days' bloody battle the Austrians gave



up the field, with the Magyars too exhausted to pursue. This was followed by another Hungarian victory at Isaszeg, and the Hungarians issued a proclamation of independence for the re-establishment of Hungary as an independent nation.

The Austrian emperor, Francis Joseph, now the oldest monarch of Europe, defiantly declared himself king of Hungary, which compelled the Hungarians to yield an unconditional surrender or continue the conflict. The Hungarian Diet proclaimed that the House of Hapsburg had forfeited the throne, and Louis Kossuth was made provisional Governor of the new Hungarian nationality. General Görgey was placed in command of the army and inspired the Hungarians with fresh hope and enthusiasm by the capture of Buda, but Russian intervention, with the promise of an army of 150,000 men, enabled the Austrians to renew the conflict, and General Haynau, who was generally spoken of at that time as "the butcher," became the Austrian commander, with an increased army. The Magyars fought overwhelming numbers with unfaltering courage, and at times wrested victory from the very jaws of defeat, but the cause of the Magyars was hopeless. They were surrounded by enemies, all bent on their destruction, for the Russian, the Prussian, the Austrian and the Turk were united against them. At this period of the conflict Görgey became estranged from Kossuth, who, as Governor, was commander-in-chief, and Görgey thereafter assumed supreme command. Kossuth, to harmonize all the forces of Hungary, voluntarily relinquished his Governorship and gave to Görgey the dictatorship, and almost the first act of Görgey after having been invested with the authority of the nation was to address a letter to the Austrian commander, telling when and where he would make an absolute surrender of the entire Hungarian army. Thus on the 11th of August, 1849, the struggle for the freedom of Hungary was ended, and the last hope of relief from the pitiless despotism of Austria perished.

Kossuth, broken-hearted, kissed the earth of his native land that had been so deeply crimsoned with the blood of his people struggling for their freedom, and entered Turkey as an exile, only to become a prisoner, leaving his wife and children behind him to suffer privation for years, and finally to join him in his exile. His accomplished wife maintained herself at times by

hiring out to service in humble families where her identity was not likely to be discovered. While in the Turkish prison Kossuth thoroughly mastered the English and French languages, and when, on the 1st of September, 1851, he was finally liberated through the kind offices of the United States, he was able to address the different peoples of Europe and the United States in their own languages. The Mississippi, one of our naval steamers, was sent to Constantinople to receive Kossuth as our guest and convey him to the great republic of the world. When he reached Marseilles he changed his route to pass through France and England, but the French government denied him permission. He then proceeded to Southampton, where he arrived on the 23d of October, and was accorded a most generous greeting by the English people. He was made the welcome guest of the Lord Mayor of London, and called out the eloquent Cobden to plead for the intervention of England to prevent Russia from crushing Hungary. His journey in England was one continued ovation, and on Thursday, the 4th of December, 1850, he landed at Staten Island, New York, where he was welcomed with a degree of popular enthusiasm that has since then been equaled only by the reception to Dewey when he returned from Manila.

From New York he went to Philadelphia, thence to Washington, and later to the Western cities, and the American people gathered in large numbers wherever they had opportunity to meet him. In July, 1852, he returned to Europe, hoping to renew the struggle for the liberty of the Magyars, but the overthrow of the French republic suppressed the revolutionary spirit of Europe, and in all the long years of waiting Kossuth found no opportunity for renewing a hopeful conflict for the liberty of his beloved Magyars.

I first saw Kossuth when he was given a public reception in Independence Hall, on the 24th of December, 1851. Mayor Gilpin welcomed him to the city that is the cradle of American independence, and Kossuth's brief address exhibited his matchless power as an orator. I had read his speeches in New York, and was greatly impressed with his excellent use of the English language. He spoke it with a purity that is unknown to the great mass of Americans, and he gave us English words which were either unknown or unused till then, and which were by him inseparably interwoven with our language. In his plea for

the union and liberty of the Magyars he made an eloquent appeal for the "solidarity of the peoples" of his native land. I have heard Edward Everett, who is regarded as capable of the purest diction in American eloquence, but I have never heard any American who spoke the English language with greater purity than did Louis Kossuth and Carl Schurz, and both of them spoke it with the highest standard of elegance after having studied it less than a year.

My enthusiasm for Kossuth made me desirous not only to hear him speak but to meet him personally, and I was much delighted to have the opportunity to receive the cordial grasp of his hand and hear his beautiful tribute to America and her institutions which pervaded his conversation. He was of medium size, compactly and symmetrically formed, with his face full-bearded excepting part of the chin, and he was as graceful in manner as he was eloquent in speech and genial in intercourse. He wore the dress of his people, and thereby introduced in this country the soft felt hat that has ever since been used by our people, and never more than now. The fine soft felt hat was then unknown in the United States, and there was widespread prejudice against its acceptance, but the Kossuth hat became a fad and was worn generally by the smart set, and gradually its comfort and convenience made it generally acceptable.

In conversation Kossuth was ever ready and fluent; his manner most fascinating and his keen eye flashed the fire of defiance when he spoke of the sorrows of the Magyars, whose lost cause had made him an exile. He profoundly impressed our statesmen at Washington, including President Fillmore and Secretary Webster, to whom modern political jingoism was unknown. His imprisonment had called out Webster's letter, which is the ablest definition of the aims and purposes and opportunities of our free institutions that has ever been given in the English language; and only the neutrality wisely imposed upon us by treaty obligations prevented the intervention of our Government by the recognition of the nationality re-established by Kossuth.

I saw Kossuth only on one other occasion during his visit to the United States. After his sojourn in Washington he started Westward. I then lived in the Juniata valley, in a village where the passengers of the few through trains of the Pennsylvania were dined, and, learning that Kossuth was coming, I arranged

with the proprietor of the hotel to have Kossuth and his wife so disposed at the end of the table that the seat reserved for me would bring me next to them. . . Railroad dinners were always very hurried occasions, and when Kossuth rushed in to the table he and his wife thought much more of trying to get a satisfactory meal out of American cooking, to which they were strangers, than of discussing the cause of Hungary. Mrs. Kossuth was of medium size, with a strong, handsome face, equally dark in complexion with her husband, and she managed the dinner. As some of the dishes were entirely unknown to her, she always first investigated them by taking the dish and holding it under her nose to judge how palatable it might be by its fragrance, and if acceptable it was handed to her husband. I could not miss the opportunity to have another brief conversation with the man who was then my great idol in hero worship, and when I reminded him of our meeting in Independence Hall, where he could not remember one in five thousand of those who greeted him, I had opened the door for the expression of his heartfelt enthusiasm for the American people and their government, and for the bleeding friends he had left behind him. He warmed up at once, and my recollection of the event is that I never before heard such fervent eloquence. I was sorry indeed when the hoarse scream of the iron horse called him away, and I parted from him for the last time with boundless pride because I had twice met the greatest living apostle of human liberty.

After a six-months' journey in the United States, in which the hero worship of the American people was exhibited by the heartiest welcome in every city he visited, he returned to Europe bearing with him liberal voluntary contributions made to him for his cause. This money was expended in the preparation for a revolutionary movement in 1853, but the high tide of revolutionary action in Europe had been succeeded by a steady ebb, and before he was able to carry it into execution he and his compatriots were arrested, several were executed, and others, including himself, were banished. Two of his sisters found refuge in the United States, where their dust now reposes. He never wearied in the struggle for his people, and maintained himself by delivering public lectures. When Sardinia and Austria became involved in war, in which France joined later, he hastened to Paris, hoping that the war might be extended to

the invasion of Hungary, with a view to its final liberation, but that war was brief and was summarily ended at Solferino, where Napoleon defeated the Austrian Emperor and made peace. Kossuth then resided in London for a decade or more, earning a precarious living by his pen, and later on he settled in Turin, where he devoted himself to scientific studies and wrote his memoirs, which have since been published. He was elected to the Hungarian Diet while in voluntary exile, but he declined to sit as a legislator in his country when Austria could annul the laws he enacted. Feeble health came with advancing age, and for many years before his death he lived in poverty, unwilling to accept the contributions which would have come from many friends, and his great life ended on the 20th of March, 1894, in one of the humblest abodes of Turin, where Louis Kossuth died without fortune, home or country.

## OUR BEAUTIFUL NATIONAL CAPITAL.

A recent visit to our national capital, now the most beautiful city of the world, impressively recalls the stride of magnificent improvement that has lifted Washington out of its disjointed and generally repulsive condition of 40 years ago. Its grand thoroughfares of today were then often almost impassable during unfavorable seasons, and the capital was a mob of soldiers, contractors and adventurers. I have seen army mule teams stalled in the mud of Pennsylvania avenue, then as now its finest thoroughfare. It then had here and there stately hotels and business houses, sandwiched in between rag-tag and bob-tail styles of structure which would now disgrace a Washington alley. The White House, the Treasury building, the Capitol and the Interior building were then the only imposing official edifices of the nation. Seward began his great work as Secretary of State in a tumble-down brick building attached to one end of the Treasury, and Cameron and Wells began the huge task of constructing an army and navy in a battered and shattered brick building that has since been replaced by a magnificent structure for the same departments and the Secretary of State. The city was a vast mass of straggling buildings with little architectural display and few signs of permanent business activity and wealth. The Capitol then stood in its present colossal and beautiful proportions with the exception of the dome, that was not completed until the war was nearly or quite ended. The Washington monument, not half finished, stood during the war in the painful solitude that told the story of the nation's failure throughout nearly a century to complete its tribute to the Father of the Republic. Street railways were unknown, and the seething mob was the chief feature of the citadel of the power of the Republic.

Lincoln had been inaugurated as President only a few months before the civil war had called out hundreds of thousands of grim reapers in the harvest of death, and neither he nor any two

members of his Cabinet had a clearly-defined policy for the Government to maintain the unity of the States. About the only thing on which the Cabinet was in entire accord was in accepting Abraham Lincoln as entirely unequal to his great duties, and a number of them but illy concealed that conviction from the President himself. Seward felt that he was the great leader of the Republican party, and asserted himself to the extent of suggesting the provocation of a foreign war, with himself as dictator in its management, and the proposition was made directly to Lincoln. Most of his Cabinet were personal strangers to him, and no one had sustained anything like intimate relations with him. He was without experience in national affairs, having served only a single term in Congress without distinction, and that was twelve years before he became President. Every statesman of the party, and every military officer of prominence who hoped to become a great chieftain, had a policy of his own, and it was difficult to find any two of them who agreed in all material details. I recall many visits to Washington in the very early days of the war, when a dispassionate examination of the conditions presented made almost every hope for the Republic perish in despair. There were mobs of office-seekers, who clamored with all the volubility of spoilsmen; there were mobs of contractors inspired by the single purpose to rob the Government in what they regarded as its dying agonies, and the adventurer and the adventuress plied their vocations on every hand. The one man who stood apparently alone in heroic hopefulness and tireless patience was Abraham Lincoln. He had faith in God, in free government, in the people and in himself. I can never forget the mingled pathos and earnestness with which I once heard him define his attitude as one who was sitting in a vast temple hearing the clamor of those who wanted to enter and enjoy it, when its consuming flames were kissing the heavens. He had no policy, because it was for events and conditions to dictate the policy of the Government. He calmly waited, quietly and patiently forebore with the complaints and importunities of others, and in the fullness of time he gave the people back a reunited country, with freedom universal within its domains, and sealed his great work with his blood when the assassin laid him low.

Washington at that time consisted of two entirely different

communities, divided by official and social lines. Georgetown, which is now simply a pretty suburb of our great capital, was then the centre of culture, refinement and social exclusiveness. It had welcomed the earlier Presidents who came with the bluest blood of Virginia to grace official circles, but when the corn-cob pipe and the stone jug came with Jackson an impassable chasm was made between the social and the political circles of the capital. They were somewhat mingled under Van Buren and Tyler and Polk and Taylor, but when the ungainly form of the rail splitter came to the White House, alien to the aristocratic circles of Georgetown alike by birth and conviction, the social rulers of the capital paid little tribute to the political powers beyond playing the part of spy to give prompt information to the enemies of the Republic of the movements of the Government. Lincoln had no time and less inclination for social recognition, and I have seen his Presidential carriage on the streets of the capital driven by a coachman not only without semblance of livery, but fitly clad to hold the reins of a night-hawk. The first story of the national Capitol was converted into a vast bakery to feed the brave boys in blue who were organized to fight the battle for the Union, and confusion and dilapidation were visible on every hand.

General Winfield Scott was then regarded by all as the bulwark of safety for the Republic. He was the hero of two wars, was a Major General in the army before I was born, and was accepted by the entire country as the great Captain of the age. I saw him for the first time the morning after the surrender of Sumter, when I had been summoned as chairman of the Military Committee of the Senate to accompany Governor Curtin to Washington for consultation with the President, General Scott and Secretary Cameron. It was known that he was feeble physically; that he was unable to mount a horse because of a spinal affection, but it was generally believed that his mental faculties were unabated. The conference was brief, as all agreed as to the duty to be performed by Pennsylvania; but I was anxious to see much more of the great hero who had been one of my idols from earliest boyhood. He stood in the window overlooking the Potomac to the Virginia hills beyond, and I saw his gray eye, which was greatly dimmed by the waste of years, moisten with scalding tears as he pointed to



Virginia, his home—the State to which he had been taught to maintain allegiance—and in a tremulous voice express his apprehension that Virginia would now join the secession movement. He was undoubtedly thoroughly loyal, but it was sorrow's crown of sorrow for him to draw his sword against Virginia. He remained with Governor Curtin and myself a considerable time, during which the conditions of the country, the dangers of Washington and the questions of war were generally discussed, and it soon became painfully evident that the old chieftain had outlived his days of usefulness, and that he was utterly unequal to the appalling task he had accepted. I well remember when we descended the stairs after leaving the President's room Governor Curtin throwing up both hands and exclaiming: "My God, the country is at the mercy of a dotard!" That Scott most patriotically attempted to perform his duties was never questioned, but he was so visibly outgeneraled in the first battle of the war by the division of his command, while the enemy united against inferior numbers and won the victory, that the question of displacement became only one of time. Soon thereafter he retired and lived to see and rejoice over a reunited country.

The situation in Washington at that time as generally accepted by intelligent observers was very tersely presented by Mr. Stanton's private letters to ex-President Buchanan. Stanton had been in the Buchanan Cabinet during the closing months of the term, and wrote many private letters to his old friend and chief, portraying what he called "the painful imbecility of Lincoln" and the "venality and corruption" which seemed to pervade the different departments of the Government, and which, as he expressed it, could not be improved "until Jeff Davis turns out the whole concern." In one letter to Buchanan, written after the defeat of Bull Run, he said that "in less than thirty days Davis will be in possession of Washington." Stanton was then the close friend and adviser of General McClellan, and it was well known in the Administration circles and to Lincoln himself that Stanton earnestly urged McClellan to overthrow the constitutional Government because of weakness and incapacity, and declare himself dictator. One year later Stanton became the great War Minister under Lincoln, whom he had never met since Lincoln's inauguration as President until

he was summoned to the White House to receive his commission charging him with the war portfolio.

The men whose names have been immortalized by achievements in our civil war were then unknown to fame. McClellan was chief engineer of a Western railroad, and received his first military commission for the civil war from the Governor of Ohio which gave him command of a small army that operated in Western Virginia, where he won several victories over small bodies of undisciplined troops in actions which two years later would hardly have been regarded as a skirmish. Grant was clerk in the tanning establishment of his father and brother in Galena, earning \$800 a year, a salary that was made more liberal because of his relations to his employers and of his own necessities rather than because of the value of his services. Sherman had just resigned his position as teacher in a military school in Louisiana because of his impetuous hostility to secession, and regarded himself as very comfortably fixed in St. Louis as officer of a street railway company, with a salary of \$2500. Sheridan was a lieutenant on the frontier, and when he heard of the war he whirled his cap over his head after the manner of the then wild and woolly West, and said: "Here's for a captain's commission or a soldier's grave." Meade was a captain serving as an engineer on the Northwestern lakes, and Thomas was a captain whose Virginia birth and severely modest reticence gave him hesitating promotion when the regular army was increased. Farragut and Porter had not risen above the position of commander, and were unknown to fame. Dewey had just reached the rank of lieutenant in the navy, as had Benham and Ramsey. Sampson and Schley were only masters, and Clark was a cadet at the Naval Academy.

Of those then prominent in the army, from Scott down, who were relied upon as the men who should become chieftains in the great battle for the maintenance of the Union, not one was among the recognized heroes of the war when peace finally came at Appomattox. In Greeley's "American Conflict," the first volume of which gives a very concise history of the causes which produced the war, and the second presents as correct a story in brief of the achievements as could be given at that time, there are two full-page engravings bearing the same title. In the first volume the heroes of the Union are grouped around Scott,

and the faces are McClellan, Wool, Fremont, Banks and others, in the second volume a like group of the heroes of the war is presented that does not contain a single face that is given in the first. The leading Southern Generals as a rule held their positions and emerged from the war having fulfilled the expectations of their people in heroism, while the Union armies never had permanent commanders who held their positions and won advancement, until Grant and Sherman started out in the memorable campaigns of 1864. Thus during the first three years of the war there was always a large element of distrust caused by our military commanders. The army of the Potomac, that made the most heroic record of any army in any war, considering that commander after commander failed, was led to final victory by the tanner from Galena.

When the Thirty-seventh Congress first met in special session July 4, 1861, the seats of Alabama, Arkansas, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina and Texas were vacant in both Senate and House, and the men who fought the great battles in the national councils for the maintenance of the army, the preservation of the national credit and the reconstruction of the severed States have nearly all passed away. I can recall the name of but one man in the Congress of 1861, who is now in the national legislature. Galusha A. Grow, now Congressman-at-Large from Pennsylvania, was speaker of the first war Congress, and is the only one of all the statesmen of forty years ago who will meet with the coming Congress. If he shall live to serve out his present term he will retire on the 4th of March, 1902, just fifty-two years after having first entered Congress as the successor of David Wilmot. He will not only be alone in the next Congress as a national legislator who met the shock of civil war, but I cannot recall the name of one of his associates in the Pennsylvania delegation who is now among the living.

Discordant as were the councils of the Republican leaders, the imperious necessities of the varied conditions which confronted them compelled unity of action, and the great struggle of eight years, covering the period of the war and reconstruction under President Johnson, developed a standard of statesmanship that has certainly never been surpassed at any period of the nation's history since the fathers of the Republic founded it, and was not more than equaled even by those who reared the present great

structure of free government. Stevens became the Commoner of the war and ruled with imperial power, and he ever had around him a galaxy of brilliant and heroic representatives, who in every emergency yielded all to the cause of the Union. In the Senate the names of Trumbull, of Illinois; Grimes and Harlan, of Iowa; Fessenden, of Maine; Sumner and Wilson, of Massachusetts; Chandler, of Michigan; Henderson, of Missouri; King and Harris, of New York; Sherman and Wade, of Ohio, and Anthony, of Rhode Island, were made to stand out among the most lustrous in American statesmanship. They had even greater problems to solve than had the Fathers of the Republic, and they accomplished what had never been attained in the history of civilized nations—the reunion of divided States which had maintained the most heroic war of history for four long years. All such wars of the past left victors and vanquished as masters and subjects, but in five years after peace was attained the Confederate chieftain became a national lawmaker, and later sat in the Cabinet of the conqueror of Lee.

With the restoration of peace and the reunion of the States came the first great impetus for the improvement of our national capital. The colossal Goddess of Liberty that was mounted on the dome of our beautiful Capitol structure came just in time to proclaim the complete reunion of the States so long drenched in fraternal conflict. The District of Columbia was dignified by the creation of a complete local government, embracing a Governor and local Legislature, and the Republican Congress, to be consistent with its policy, gave universal suffrage to the residents of the District, by which the colored population, largely illiterate, became the controlling political power. Governor Cook inaugurated the new government with imposing ceremonies, but soon found that his task was a most ungracious one because of the reckless legislative authority. Governor Shepherd accepted the succession, and he did in Washington what Caesar did for Rome, who found the City of Seven Hills in brick and left it in marble.

Shepherd was in advance of his time in his grand conceptions of what our national capital should be, and must be in time. That he had to deal with corrupt authority is not doubted, but he made the best use of his power that was possible, and he literally created the present beautiful city of Washington, with

its wide and well-paved streets, its magnificent angles, its green shades and its grand monuments. He aroused fearful antagonism, was violently assailed as a corruptionist, and finally literally driven from his authority and home and popular government abolished; but how many are there in Washington today who do not point with pride to the achievements of Governor Shepherd? He gave up his home in the capital that he had beautified, soiled in reputation and broken in fortune, and since then he has been away in the mountains of Mexico. When recently in the land of the successors of the Aztecs I made special inquiry about Governor Shepherd, and would gladly have visited him had it been possible, but I found that he was away in the mountains hundreds of miles distant, and could be reached only by traveling nearly one hundred miles of mountains, without even a wagon road. He has acquired fortune, and seems to have no desire to return to the city that he so grandly embellished as to make it the pride of the nation and command the homage of the world. I never drive over the elegant streets of Washington and witness the succession of beautiful views constantly presented without thinking kindly of Governor Shepherd, and feeling more than willing to forgive him for all the faults of which he was accused, even if the charges had been somewhat warranted. I think it only just to say that he was more sinned against than sinning, and that his name should linger in the grateful memories of every resident of our national capital.

I recently met in the White House and had a pleasant chat with the President of the United States, sitting in the same window in which I had first met General Scott just forty years ago, when the thunders of civil war appalled the country. The present President was then not three years old, and in emerging from the Executive Mansion I met the Secretary of State, silvered with age and a halting step that told the story of broken health. I first saw him in the White House as a handsome and unusually bright boy hardly out of his teens, whose chief concern seemed to be the cultivation of a then stubbornly hesitating mustache. He has since then taken high rank in American literature, honored the country as Minister to the first court of Europe, and now commands the confidence of the country as the Premier under two Presidents. Most of the







COLONEL A. K. McCLURE

as he looked in the sixties when he knew Lincoln.  
From an old print.





members of the Cabinet were too young to make any record for themselves during the severe trial in the flame of battle for the preservation of the Union, and only a few of the old veterans of field and forum now linger around the departments or tell the thrilling story of war times at the clubs and in social circles. The Washington of today is an entirely new city transformed from the bleak desolation and confusion of 1861, and a new generation wields the power of the Government in every department of authority over the most intelligent, progressive and prosperous nation the world has ever known.

## WHY SEWARD COULD NOT BE PRESIDENT.

Next to Abraham Lincoln, William Henry Seward has written the most lustrous chapters in the annals of the Republican party. He was one of its earliest champions and admittedly its ablest, from the time of its organization until the death of Lincoln, when he remained in the Johnson Cabinet to follow the waning political fortunes of his new chief, and thus became separated from his early political associates. After serving as Premier of the Johnson administration until near its close, he saw the unmistakable trend of public conviction, and delivered his last political speech at his home on the eve of the election, in which he intimated rather than declared his purpose to vote for Grant, the Republican candidate for President.

Seward was born in Florida, Orange county, N. Y., on the 16th day of May, 1801. He developed a great fondness for study, and after a protracted struggle, interrupted at times by the necessity of teaching to sustain himself, he finally graduated at Union College in 1820. He was admitted to the Bar at Utica in 1822, and the following year made Auburn his permanent home. He took an active part in the support of John Quincy Adams for President against Jackson in 1824 and 1828, and he was one of the most prominent leaders in organizing and supporting the Anti-Masonic party, which had its birth in New York State, inspired by the alleged murder of Morgan; and in 1830 he was elected by the Anti-Masons to the State Senate. In 1833 he visited Europe, and in 1834 the Whig party was first organized in New York State, and nominated Seward as its candidate for Governor. He was supported by the united Whigs and Anti-Masons, but his competitor was William L. Marcy, then a candidate for re-election and one of the ablest Democratic leaders of his time. Seward made a brave battle, but his followers were practically without organization, as the Whig party was in its early infancy and Anti-Masonry in its dying

throes, and he was defeated by 12,892 majority. He continued his active participation in politics, and in 1838 he was recognized as the leader of leaders in opposition to the Democracy of the Empire State. He was renominated for Governor in that year against his old competitor, William L. Marcy, who had held the office for three consecutive terms; and after a very earnest contest Seward was elected by a majority of 10,421. In 1840 he was re-elected, but by a greatly reduced majority because of the agitation of the school question. On retiring from the Gubernatorial office in 1843 he resumed the practice of his profession until 1849, when he was chosen to the United States Senate. He was re-elected to the Senate in 1855, and would have been again elected in 1861 but for the fact that before the meeting of the Legislature he had accepted the position of Secretary of State under Lincoln.

In 1856 Seward was confessedly the leader of the Republicans. He had very able associates, such as Sumner and Chase, both of whom had been elected to the Senate by the Democratic votes of their respective Legislatures, with Trumbull of Illinois, Harlan of Iowa, Fessenden and Hamlin of Maine, Wilson of Massachusetts, Chandler of Michigan, King of New York and Wade of Ohio; but even with such a galaxy of intellectual forces associated with him he was confessedly the party leader alike in Senatorial debate, on the hustings and in political councils. Had it been deemed expedient to consult the preferences of the Republicans in naming the first Republican candidate in 1856, Seward would have been nominated for President without a serious contest, and Lincoln would have been with him for Vice-President. The Republican party was then in an embryo state, without organization or cohesion, and embracing many elements of discord in its composition, and Seward was advised by such shrewd leaders as Thurlow Weed and the elder Francis P. Blair that he must yield his Presidential aspirations for the time in favor of Fremont, who had the advantage of a romantic career without a political record that could embarrass any of the elements of the new party. I was a member of the convention, and would gladly have accepted Seward or any of the other candidates named in preference to Fremont, but Seward's friends were heartily enlisted in favor of the "Pathfinder," and Fremont was made a candidate practi-

cally by friends of Seward, who expected Fremont to take the chances of defeat and clear the course for Seward in 1860.

I had become acquainted with Seward early in the '50s, and, like all who had the advantage of personal intercourse with him, was much attracted by his many fascinating attributes. No one of the other great Republican leaders possessed in such an eminent degree the qualities of leadership. Sumner, Trumbull and Wade had intellectual force, but Trumbull was a lawyer and a Judge rather than a politician; Wade was offensively blunt in his deliverances—thus often needlessly making enemies—and his judgment was distrusted in the party councils, and Sumner cultivated an ideal statesmanship that placed him outside the lines of practical politics. Fessenden was more nearly a copy of Seward in temperament and discretion, but readily conceded the masterly ability of his chief.

Seward never spoke from impulse. He had been carefully trained in his political methods by Thurlow Weed, who was the most astute politician of his day in any party, and who well understood the two great attributes essential to success in politics—(1) the value of silence, and (2) the necessity of thought before utterance. All of the many great speeches made by Seward were prepared in a most painstaking manner. He was not magnetic like Clay or Blaine, but he knew how to make all welcome who came within the range of his presence, and he possessed every quality of a political master. I saw him after the nomination of Fremont, and, while he spoke somewhat hopefully of the battle, he evidently expected that the first Republican candidate for President would be defeated, but that in the second battle the party could win, and he did not cherish a doubt that he would be the candidate. He fully appreciated his position as the confessed leader of what he believed was to be one of the great parties in the history of the country, and had he reached the Presidency under ordinary conditions he would have made a great administration; but no greatness of human character is perfect, and the limitations upon Seward's intellectual powers were painfully exhibited in the early days of the war. For many months after the inauguration of Lincoln he predicted the adjustment of the secession trouble within sixty days, and when war was accepted as inevitable by nearly all but himself he conceived the utterly illogical and unstatesmanlike

policy of forcing a foreign war, and bowed to the mastery of his disappointment in the choice of Lincoln as President by formally assuming that Lincoln was unequal to the grave duties of his position, proposing to inaugurate a foreign war and to conduct it himself as dictator. His long cherished hope of reaching the Presidency had perished, and that seemed to have unbalanced his great intellectual forces, wherein he simply repeated the history of many others who had hoped and failed as he did.

There have been many explanations given of the causes which led to the failure of Seward to be nominated for President at Chicago in 1860, resulting in the nomination of Lincoln. Seward's position and strength as leader of the party were equal to that of Clay in the Whig party in 1844, and certainly three-fourths of the Republicans of the country expected and desired him to be their candidate. Cameron was honored with a complimentary nomination for President in Pennsylvania, Chase in Ohio and Bates in Missouri, and until after the meeting of the Republican State Convention in Illinois Lincoln was discussed as a Presidential candidate only with a view of making him either the second man on the ticket or strengthening him for a future nomination for the first place. Cameron's delegation was not sincerely for him, Chase's delegation was divided, Bates' delegation regarded his cause as hopeless, and one-third of the delegates chosen in Illinois and instructed for Lincoln were avowed Seward men, and were held to Lincoln only by the reasonable certainty that Lincoln would be nominated.

I attended the convention with Governor Curtin, then our candidate for Governor, who had charged me with the management of the campaign in Pennsylvania, and there met Henry S. Lane, candidate for Governor in Indiana, with John D. DeFrees, his chairman. Pennsylvania and Indiana were the pivotal States, as they had to choose their Governors in October. If they voted Republican the Republican President was assured of success; if they were defeated, national defeat for the Republicans was inevitable. Neither Lane nor Curtin had any personal hostility to Seward. On the contrary, they would gladly have supported him and made him President had it been possible, but they were compelled to face the one insuperable obstacle to Seward's success, and they declared that his nomi-

nation must mean their defeat. These two men were instrumental in making a convention, two-thirds of whose delegates were earnestly for Seward, abandon him, not because they loved Seward less, but because they regarded Republican success as paramount.

It was Seward's attitude on the school question when Governor of New York that made his election impossible in 1860. He was a man of liberal ideas and positive convictions, and when he was nominated for Governor in 1838 he was given important support by the quiet efforts of Archbishop John Hughes, then the ablest prelate of the Catholic Church in America. This question has been superficially discussed, and I think it due to the truth of history to present the actual political condition that confronted the Republican leaders at Chicago in 1860 by giving Seward's own utterances on the school question. In his annual message to the Legislature, January 7, 1840, he said:

"The children of foreigners found in great numbers in our populous cities and towns and in the vicinity of our public works are too often deprived of the advantages of our system of public education in consequence of prejudice arising from a difference of language or religion. It ought never to be forgotten that the public welfare is as deeply concerned in their education as in that of our own children. I do not hesitate, therefore, to recommend the establishment of schools in which they may be instructed by teachers speaking the same language with themselves and professing the same faith."

Seward's message on the subject was very elaborate, reviewing the whole question of educating the children of the State with great earnestness and force. In the same message he said that the issue was "whether parents have a right to be heard concerning the instruction and instructors of their children, and taxpayers in relation to the expenditure of public funds; whether in a republican Government it is necessary to interpose an independent corporation between the people and the schoolmaster, and whether it is wise and just to disfranchise an entire community of all control over public education rather than suffer a part to be represented in proportion to its numbers and contributions. Since such considerations are now involved, what has hitherto been discussed as a question of benevolence and of

universal education has become one of equal civil rights, religious tolerance and liberty of conscience."

This proposition from Governor Seward to divide the school fund of New York aroused very fierce and bitter discussion, and made him very narrowly escape defeat for re-election in the great Harrison sweep of 1840. But for the overwhelming tidal wave against Van Buren that intensified the contest in Van Buren's own State, Seward would certainly have been defeated; but he was re-elected by a majority of 5,285. Some time after Seward's re-election in 1840 Archbishop Hughes addressed a letter of congratulation to him, to which Seward replied May 18, 1841, and made the letter public, elaborately reviewing the school question and reiterating his earnest purpose to divide the school fund of the State between the Catholics and Protestants. He said:

"I know that truth will ultimately become acceptable, and so in regard to the present state of the school question I am desirous that the real interest of the Catholics in the question should be known. If it were true, as some contend, that none but Catholic children are neglected, I would nevertheless maintain that the Catholic children ought to be educated. If it be true that none but Catholics complain, I uphold the Catholics in complaining. If Catholics only are offended in conscience I maintain that that offence ought not to be continued by authority of law. Many Protestants have been offended because they feared that, by obtaining equal advantages of education for their children, Catholics might acquire undue influence, and on the other hand many Catholics have been led by misrepresentation to believe that such liberal sentiments as I have advanced could not be sincere. I am not now a candidate, nor can I foresee an occasion when I shall either find it my duty or have a desire to offer myself for the suffrage of my fellow-citizens. Whatever may have been thought heretofore, I can afford now, at least, to be frank and honest. I reaffirm all I have promulgated concerning the policy of this country in regard to foreigners and the education of their children."

Such was Seward's attitude on the school question, and it will not require elaborate investigation, considering the political conditions which prevailed in 1860, to reach the conclusion that Seward was an impossible candidate for President if the



party hoped to battle for success. The American or Know Nothing party became a powerful political factor in 1854 and controlled the elections in a number of our States. It was a secret, compact and aggressive organization, and held the balance of power in both Indiana and Pennsylvania beyond all reasonable dispute. Indiana in 1856 gave 118,670 votes to Buchanan, 94,375 to Fremont and 22,586 to Fillmore, the American candidate, showing a majority for Buchanan over both the opposing parties. In 1858, when only State officers were to be elected in Indiana, the Democratic vote was 107,409, and the Republican vote 104,828. The Republicans and Americans united generally in the election of Congressmen and carried eight of the eleven Representatives, but they had not been able to harmonize on a State ticket, and in 1860 the State was fairly debatable with a certainty that the American vote would control the result. If the American vote harmonized with the Republicans it assured the success of that party; if it supported a third ticket, Democratic success was inevitable.

Like political conditions existed in Pennsylvania. In 1856 Buchanan received 230,710 votes; Fremont, 147,510 votes, and Fillmore, American, 82,175, giving Buchanan 83,200 plurality over Fremont, but only 1,025 majority over both. In 1857 the Democratic candidate for Governor received 188,887 votes; the Republican, 146,136, and the American, 28,132. In 1858 the old Whig and the new Republican leaders decided to harmonize all the political elements opposed to Buchanan's administration, and they discarded both the Whig and the Republican titles, held a mass State convention, adopted the name of the People's party, nominated candidates representing both the American and the Republican elements, and carried the State by a vote of 198,117 to 171,130. In 1859 the People's convention again nominated a State ticket representing the different elements composing the combination, and under the flag of the People's party carried the State by a vote of 181,835 to 164,540. In either of these contests the Republicans would have been defeated by decisive majorities if the Americans had supported a third ticket.

Such were the conditions which confronted the party leaders at the Chicago convention in 1860. Had Seward, the most beloved and most generally desired candidate for the Presidency, been nominated, the American organization in Pennsylvania and

Indiana would have been quickened into renewed activity and increased power, and would have polled a vote in each State largely in excess of the majorities received by Curtin and Lane. The obstacle to Seward's success was so plain when frankly presented that none could misunderstand it, and even the most devoted friends of Seward were compelled to confess the force of the objections presented. The school agitation of twenty years before had been forgotten outside of New York, and by very many in that State, until it was brought up afresh as a danger signal at Chicago. Curtin and Lane were battling for their own success, and their success meant the success of the candidate for President nominated by the convention. It is not surprising that their earnest protests against Seward's nomination, although entirely free from personal prejudice against Seward, swerved the convention from its purpose; and it was the vote of Indiana and Pennsylvania declaring for Lincoln that gave Lincoln the victory. I heard Lincoln on several occasions refer to the fact, when discussing political problems, that he was nominated for the Presidency in a convention "that was two-thirds for the other fellow." Seward had the ablest leaders at Chicago I have ever seen in a national convention, with the single exception of the combinations of great leadership exhibited at the Grant-Blaine battle of 1880, and they fought for their favorite until overwhelmed. When Lincoln was nominated they seemed to be dumfounded. The entire convention, with the single exception of the New York delegation, rose with the 5,000 spectators in the wigwam to cheer the name of Lincoln to the echo, but not a man in the New York delegation moved, and it was some minutes after order had been entirely restored, with the whole convention waiting for New York to speak, before William M. Evarts arose, and, in a tremulous voice, moved that the nomination of Lincoln be made unanimous.

Seward and his friends were greatly offended at the action of Curtin and Lane at Chicago. There was little opportunity to punish Lane, as soon after his inauguration as Governor he was elected to the Senate, but the retributive blow fell harshly on Curtin and his friends. I was chairman of the Lincoln State Committee and fighting the pivotal struggle of the national battle, but not one dollar of assistance came from New York, and my letters to Thurlow Weed and to Governor Morgan, chair-

man of the National Committee, were unanswered. Seward largely aided the appointment of a Cabinet officer in Pennsylvania who was the most conspicuous of Curtin's foes, and on Curtin's first visit to Seward as Secretary of State he gave him such a frigid reception that he never thereafter visited that department. I also called upon Seward simply to pay my respects, having no favors to ask of him, but he failed to exhibit even ordinary civility, and I never had occasion to call at the State Department thereafter during his eight years of service.

Seward learned to appreciate Curtin better in 1862, after McClellan's defeat on the Peninsula and the final retreat of the Union army into the intrenchments at Washington. Curtin was in New York under the care of a surgeon and forbidden to leave his room. The Emancipation proclamation had been issued that caused a cold chill throughout the Republican ranks, and there was little prospect of filling up the broken ranks of our armies. The administration became seriously alarmed, and Seward visited New York with a view of calling a conference of the Mayors of our leading cities outside of New York to devise some method for increasing the army. Colonel Thomas A. Scott was in New York at the time, and suggested to Seward that Governor Curtin was in the city, and that it might be well to consult him. Seward invited Curtin to a conference, and although Curtin was very feeble, he met Seward and some friends at the Astor House and suggested that instead of conferring with the Mayors of cities, the loyal Governors of the North should be invited to a general conference with a view of asking the administration to increase the army and prosecute the war with the utmost vigor. In this suggestion Curtin was supported by Scott, and Seward readily accepted it. Before they left the room they had telegraphed to a majority of the Northern Governors, who cordially agreed to a general meeting, and the memorable Altoona conference, with the address issued by the united loyal Governors of the North, inspired the people afresh and enabled the Government to call out 300,000 additional troops. After that time Seward was always very cordial to Curtin, but Curtin studiously avoided ever asking any favor of the Secretary of State.

Seward made a great record as Premier of the Lincoln Administration during the war, when he had the most difficult

problems of diplomacy to solve. He was a great worker, well trained in intellectual labor, and his diplomatic correspondence of that crucial period in the nation's history compares with the diplomatic achievements of any nation of the world. He became estranged from all his old political associations under Johnson, and when he retired from the Cabinet he was a man without a party, and ceased to take any interest in political contests. He traveled abroad, and finally made a journey around the world, during which he was honored by every nationality. After returning he devoted himself to writing his memoirs, in the midst of which, on the 10th of October, 1872, after life's long fitful fever, he joined the great majority on the other shore.

## BROWNLOW AND VALLANDIGHAM.

Our civil war logically produced great chieftains on both sides and made names immortal which would have been unknown to fame but for that sanguinary fraternal struggle. Both the North and the South had home rebellious elements, and two names will ever stand out in history as the most conspicuous of those who revolted against their own people. Parson William G. Brownlow, of Tennessee, made the most conspicuous record by his rebellion against the rebellion in the South, and Clement L. Vallandigham, of Ohio, made himself altogether the most illustrious of those who rebelled in the North against the war for the preservation of the Union. The erratic frills which these men added to the history of the war will ever be studied with interest by the careful student of the most heroic war of ancient or modern times.

Of all the prominent characters developed by our fraternal conflict that of Parson William G. Brownlow is altogether the most unique. It would be accepted as thrillingly romantic but for the barbarism that was provoked by the intensely bitter fraternal conflict, and that was accepted by both sides and employed to the uttermost. Brownlow was one of the sturdy mountaineers of Eastern Tennessee, where there were few slaves, where school houses and churches were rarely cultivated, and where hostility to the aristocratic slaveholder was about the only inspiration that could call out the ruggedly heroic qualities of the people. Andrew Johnson was another of the same type, and played his part in harmony with the lines of Brownlow. It was only natural that such people would have little sympathy with a war avowedly precipitated and prosecuted for the maintenance of slavery, and the keenest thorn of the South in the side of the Confederacy came from the aggressive loyal mountaineers of Eastern Tennessee, where Johnson was worshiped as the ideal statesman, and Parson Brownlow as the ideal pulpit orator. Johnson started as a tailor and unable even to write

his name, and Brownlow started as a carpenter, and after acquiring a smattering of an English education he entered the Methodist ministry when he had reached his majority, and was an itinerant minister of that church for ten years. He mingled his piety very freely with politics, and was often heard on the stump in the political conflicts of those days. He actively opposed the election of Jackson in 1828 and again in 1832, and he established the Jonesboro Whig in 1838, and thereafter devoted his labors chiefly to politics and the primitive journalism of that day and region, but always maintained his position as a local Methodist preacher. His editorials were always caustic and forceful, and many of them could be very justly criticised as vulgar; but he wrote just what his readers wanted, and he maintained a profitable reputation for himself and his newspaper by gaining the title of the "Fighting Parson." He was seldom without a serious broil of some kind on hand, and was always armed for the fray. It was only natural that a man of such tastes and environment would be hostile to the Southern leaders when rebellion was inaugurated. At that time he had removed from Jonesboro to the larger village of Knoxville, where he had re-established The Whig, and his criticisms of the secessionists exhausted the vocabulary of Billingsgate.

When the secession tide had swept over the South he was the only man in Knoxville who had the courage to display the Union flag from his home, but he was finally compelled to give up his almost single-handed battle, as his newspaper had been suppressed by the Southern authorities, and in the last issue that he was permitted to publish, on the 24th of October, 1861, he gave a farewell address to his readers, declaring that imprisonment was preferable to submission. He refused to accept the oath of allegiance to the Confederacy and absented himself from Knoxville, but he was soon thereafter accused of destroying the railroad bridges, and a squad of soldiers was sent out to search for him, with orders to shoot him whenever found. He was subsequently induced to return to Knoxville on the assurance that he would be permitted to go to Kentucky, but upon arriving at his home he was immediately arrested for treason, and confined in jail for some weeks, where he suffered every possible indignity from his persecutors. While a prisoner he was permitted to address a note to Mr. Benjamin, the Confederate

Secretary of State, in which he asked for permission to go North in these characteristic words: "Just give me my passport and I will do more for the Confederacy than the devil has ever done. I will leave the country." He was taken at his word, and in March, 1862, he was sent inside the Union lines at Nashville.

Brownlow immediately made a tour of the North, where he was welcomed with boundless enthusiasm, and his speeches were among the most original and pungent I have ever heard. The bitterness of internecine strife was exhibited in tempestuous waves as intelligent, cultivated people of the North listened to the thrilling stories Parson Brownlow told in his own inimitable way. His story when truthfully presented would have been thrilling enough to arouse the keenest interest of the inflamed people of the North, but Brownlow's vivid imagery and ribald arraignment of all the Southern leaders, divesting them of every virtue and charging them with every attribute of fiendishness, made his vulgarisms household words in very many homes. He had a keen eye to business, and his life, written by himself and published by the late George W. Childs, reached a sale of hundreds of thousands, and gave Brownlow a handsome competence. He remained in the North, where his family joined him, until the occupation of Tennessee by the Union troops made it safe for him to return to his State under conditions which made it possible for him to take up the political lines and adopt and enforce the most violent reconstruction policy, by which he made himself Governor and finally a United States Senator.

I saw much of Parson Brownlow during his stay in the North, and heard him deliver several addresses. I had had an editorial spat with him some ten or a dozen years before when editor of a little village newspaper. I had obtained an exchange with the Fighting Parson and read his Jonesboro Whig with interest because of the always aggressive and generally violent, abusive editorials which came from his pen. The conviction and execution of Professor Webster, of Harvard, called out one of his vehement broadsides against the hypocrisy of the Abolitionists of the North. I criticised his sweeping and coarsely unjust reflections upon the Northern people, which brought out a pen picture of myself from the mountain parson that was quite

original. Instead of answering the arguments I had presented in rather a courteous manner he declared that I must be a "renegade from the land of steady habits, a filthy Abolitionist and a lousy neighbor of David Wilmot's, who had made the money to establish his newspaper by selling cow heel flints and wooden nutmegs to the Pennsylvania Dutch." Although it was the period of my editorial career when I knew so little about journalism that I supposed I could vanquish any foe in controversy, I threw up the sponge to Brownlow, as I could not approach him on his own lines, and any other would have been an utter waste of time and space.

Brownlow's appearance was anything but prepossessing. He was tall, lank, hatchet-faced, ungraceful in manner, never gentle in speech and was himself only when indulging in some tirade against real or imaginary foes that gave him an opportunity to open the sluices of the blackguard. The single virtue that the man possessed was his courage, and that was a universal virtue among the sturdy sons of the Tennessee forests and mountains. He was fiendish in his vindictiveness, and gave it the most terrible practical illustration when he came to the reconstruction of his State. There have been many records of reconstruction in the South which stand out as a terrible reproach upon the history of our free Government, but in no other State in the South was there such pitiless persecution, such relentless despotism and such a floodtide of political debauchery as were displayed by the rule of Parson Brownlow. Tennessee had more Union people than any other Southern State, and it was not only a battle between friends and foes of the Union, but it was largely a battle of caste. It was the uncouth, vigorous and aggressive mountaineers, whose hard lives and humble homes fostered the keenest hatred for culture and wealth, and especially of those who held slaves to do their bidding. A war that had been in progress for several years, intensified by the breaking of fraternal ties, and by the inflamed hatred of the poor for the rich, brought Tennessee to a condition of anarchy save where the bayonet gave its despotic and often hard protection.

The reconstruction policy was conceived, framed and executed by Brownlow, and he assured his political mastery by disfranchising not only those who were in open antagonism to the Government, but all who were suspected of opposition to his



purposes. He thus established a government that wrote the most fearful chapters in the annals of Tennessee. It was a rule of ignorance, of hate and of spoliation, and it was maintained until Brownlow re-elected himself as Governor, and then, in violation of his faith to those who had aided him, elected himself to the Senate by orders to an obedient Legislature. I saw him after he had taken his seat in the Senate, and found him broken in health and friendless at home and in Washington among those whose friendship he most coveted. In the various conversations I had with him I never saw a smile on his face, and found him always unwilling to speak of his own political achievements. Later I saw him when slow paralysis had given him trembling hands and broken voice. He lingered in loneliness until the close of his term, when he returned to his home in Knoxville, where he waited for the lengthening shadows which in a few months gave him the peace in the grave that he had never given to others in life.

Clement L. Vallandigham is crystallized in history as the most conspicuous and aggressive of the Northern men of political position who, while declaring devotion to the Union and hostility to secession, most boldly and defiantly denounced every measure adopted by the Government to prevent the dismemberment of the States. He did not possess a single attribute of the leading characteristics of Parson Brownlow. He was a man of unusual ability and culture, a genial and delightful companion and a tireless student. He was a native of Ohio, where he was born in New Lisbon on the 29th of July, 1820, and after acquiring a fair academic education he was admitted to the Bar, where he rapidly won distinction both as a lawyer and advocate. He believed in the extreme doctrine of States' rights as taught by Calhoun, and in all his political deliverances he consistently presented his views as in harmony with the great teacher of the South. After having served with distinction in the Ohio Legislature he was nominated as the Democratic candidate for Congress against Lewis D. Campbell in 1856, and although returned as defeated, he won his seat on a contest, and by re-elections served until the 4th of March, 1863.

In the early part of the war he was the most positive and defiant advocate of States' rights, denouncing the policy of coercion as at war with the teachings of the Constitution. He be-

came the recognized leader of the Bourbon element of the Democracy that refused to support the policy of the administration in prosecuting the war, and at the election of 1862 he was defeated by General Schenck, after a contest of almost unexampled personal and partisan bitterness. It was this defeat that unbalanced the better judgment of Vallandigham. He felt that he had been persecuted by political and military power, and he resented it with much more zeal than wisdom. In March, 1863, General Burnside was assigned to command of the Department of the Ohio. Burnside was impulsive and intensely earnest in his devotion to the Union cause, and on the 13th of April, soon after taking charge of his department, he issued his celebrated order No. 38, in which he announced that "all persons found within our lines who commit acts for the benefit of the enemies of our country will be tried as spies or traitors, and if convicted will suffer death." The same order declared that "it must be distinctly understood that treason, expressed or implied, will not be tolerated in this department." The order was severely criticised, and it was well understood that the responsibility for the order rested solely with Burnside, and was not dictated by the Administration. In fact, the order was prepared and proclaimed without consulting President Lincoln.

Vallandigham was one of the first to utter a note of defiance against what he termed the arbitrary and despotic order of the military commander, and in a speech delivered at Mount Vernon he denounced the order as a base usurpation of arbitrary power, and declared that he despised it, spat upon it and trampled it under his feet. In the same speech he denounced the Conscription act as a measure of despotism, and declared that no man deserved to be free who would submit to such restrictions of his freedom. The meeting had been publicly advertised, and General Burnside had a special agent in attendance, who made careful notes of the addresses, and three days thereafter, on the 4th of May, 1863, a detachment of soldiers arrived before Vallandigham's residence in Dayton, and he was arrested upon an order from the Commanding General. Vallandigham refused to submit to arrest or to admit the soldiers into his house, but they broke in, gave him time for hasty preparation and conducted him to Cincinnati. He was very soon thereafter tried by a military Commission that met on the 6th of May,

and after a brief trial the Court deliberated for three hours and returned a verdict of guilty, with the sentence that he should be placed in close confinement in some fortress of the United States to be designated by the commanding officer, and to remain a prisoner during the continuance of the war. General Burnside approved the finding and sentence, and designated Fort Warren in Boston harbor as the place of his confinement. Application was made to Judge Leavitt, of the United States Court, for a writ of habeas corpus, but after extended argument the judge refused it and remanded Vallandigham to the military authorities for the execution of the sentence.

I know that President Lincoln regretted the arrest and trial of Vallandigham and that he was very much concerned about it. In none of these movements had General Burnside consulted the President before taking action, and the question for the President to decide was whether he should strengthen the disloyal sentiment of the country by releasing Vallandigham, or whether he should sustain a faithful commander in the exercise of his extreme powers to suppress the blatant disloyalty that was heard in many places throughout the North. Lincoln, always sagacious and conservative when such issues confronted him, finally solved the problem in the most sensible way by commuting the punishment of Vallandigham to banishment within the Confederate lines, and on the 25th of May Vallandigham was escorted to Murfreesboro and delivered to the Confederate commander. He was kindly received by his Southern friends, but he at once made formal protest against his banishment to the South, stating that he was there by force, and that he surrendered as a prisoner of war.

This was the first instance in which the Government had exercised its extreme powers in disposing of a political offender who occupied a high position as an opposition leader, and very many earnest supporters of the Administration doubted the wisdom of the movement, while Lincoln himself certainly regretted that Burnside had made the arrest. The Southern leaders gave cordial welcome to Vallandigham, and his banishment was regarded throughout the South as the beginning of a counter revolution in the North that would greatly aid the Confederacy. Mr. Jones, a clerk in the Confederate War Office, on the 22d of June, 1863, stated in his diary that he had seen the memo-

random of Mr. Ould relating a conversation had with Vallandigham for file in the archives. In that Vallandigham is represented as saying: "If the South can only hold out for a year the peace party of the North will sweep the Lincoln dynasty out of existence."

The agitation over the banishment of Vallandigham assumed serious proportions and led to the publication of one of Mr. Lincoln's ablest papers in answer to the resolutions adopted at a meeting held in Albany on the 16th of May, to which Governor Seymour had written an elaborate criticism of the Administration. Mr. Lincoln's reply was exhaustive and conclusive in its presentation of the right and duty of the Government to protect itself against such disturbers as Vallandigham. He referred to the fact that the military commander who had arrested and tried Vallandigham was a Democrat; that the United States judge who refused him a writ of habeas corpus was a Democrat, and he added: "Still more, of all those Democrats who are nobly exposing their lives and shedding their blood on the battlefield, I have learned of many who approved the course taken with Mr. Vallandigham, while I have not heard of a single one condemning it." Early in June Vallandigham ran the blockade at Wilmington and arrived at Bermuda on the 22d of the month, where he took passage at the earliest opportunity for Halifax, Nova Scotia, and arrived there on the 5th of July. Thereafter he made his headquarters on the Canadian side of Niagara Falls. He at once issued an address to the people of Ohio, in which he recited the story of his banishment and trials to escape from the South. He said that "after wearisome and most perilous journeys for more than 4,000 miles by land and sea, still in exile, almost within sight of my native State, I greet you as your representative."

The Democratic State Convention, mistaking the violent utterances of Bourbon politicians for the sentiment of the people of Ohio, committed the grievous blunder of nominating Vallandigham for Governor and adopted a platform that was disloyal in every line, which Vallandigham, from his hiding place north of Niagara, declared to be "elegant in style and admirable in sentiment." Friends of the Union cause did not affect to conceal the gravity of the issue, and the Republican convention placed at the head of its ticket John Brough, an earnest and aggressive

war Democrat. I doubt whether any State campaign during the last half century excited such general interest throughout the country, North and South, as did the battle between Vallandigham and Brough, and in the State of Ohio it was a hand-to-hand conflict, fought with a desperation unexampled in our political warfare. The result was the defeat of Vallandigham by a majority of 101,000 votes. This overwhelming discomfiture measurably silenced defiant disloyalty. Mr. Pendleton, of Ohio, sought to obtain an expression from the House of Representatives February, 1864, declaring that the banishment of Vallandigham was a palpable violation of the Constitution and laws of the country, but it was defeated by nearly a two-thirds vote.

Vallandigham remained quietly in Canada until June, 1864, when the country was astounded one morning to read the announcement that he had quietly crossed at Niagara and returned to his home. General Heintzelman was then in command of the department, and he immediately asked for instructions from the President. Lincoln kept his own counsel and simply indicated to Heintzelman that he should await orders. In this the President exhibited the rare discretion that characterized him in all emergencies. He knew that Vallandigham was helpless, and although Vallandigham repeated violent political criticisms of the Government, they harmed only himself and his cause, and he was allowed to live and to attend to his business without interruption and to go as a delegate to the Democratic National Convention at Chicago, where he was honored with the position of chairman of the Committee on Resolutions, resulting in the name of Vallandigham and the peace platform there adopted hanging as a crushing mill-stone around McClellan, who was nominated for the Presidency.

Vallandigham returned to the practice of his profession in Lebanon, O., and his attractive personal qualities and thorough integrity of character, with his admitted ability and skill at the Bar, soon made him prominent in his profession, and he reached the kind period of forgetfulness with the great mass of the people of his State. He was engaged for the defence in a celebrated murder case in which he had become very warmly interested, and while presenting the case he picked up a pistol and undertook to demonstrate how the pistol had been fired by accident,

that being the theory of the defence. Placing the pistol in his pocket to demonstrate his theory, it was accidentally discharged, and a mortal wound inflicted upon himself, resulting in his death on the 17th of June, 1871.

I had met Vallandigham frequently during the period of his service in Congress, and like all who had been brought into personal relations with him I cherished the kindest personal feeling for him. He was unusually attractive in form and feature, and gentleness seemed to be depicted in every line of his finely chiseled face. In social intercourse he was unusually courteous and always entertaining, and there was not a single blemish on his public or private life until he became insensibly involved in violent hostility to the Government. His defeat for Congress by General Schenck in 1862 was the turning point of his career. Like many other men he was unequal to a humiliating defeat after a struggle of singular bitterness, and I do not doubt that in the passion of resentment he was swept far from his intended moorings, and thus blighted a life that should have been one of honored distinction. He died sincerely lamented by a large circle of personal friends and most of his acquaintances who were opposed to him judged him most charitably as an able, honest and fearless man who became a foe to himself and his country rather by circumstance than by purpose.

## WILMOT AND THE WILMOT PROVISO.

It is now a full half-century since David Wilmot, of Pennsylvania, retired from Congress after six years of service, with his name more generally involved in the political discussions of the country than that of any other of our statesmen. There was not a champion of any party on the hustings in those days to whom the name of Wilmot was not entirely familiar. It was involved in the bitterness of sectional discussion in the South, and inseparably connected with current political disputes in the North, where he was commended and condemned with equal fervency. Wilmot had made no great speech in Congress to give him national fame, and he did not rank with the then existing circle of giants in statesmanship embracing Clay, Webster, Calhoun and others, but he was the author of the Wilmot proviso, or rather, he had proposed the proviso that bore his name in the House. That proviso restricted slavery in any Territory that the Government might acquire from Mexico at the close of the war with that Government in 1847.

David Wilmot was born in Bethany, Pennsylvania, on the 20th of January, 1814, and after acquiring an academical education wholly by his own efforts he was admitted to the Bar at Wilkes-barre in 1834. He at once located at Towanda, the county seat of Bradford, a county that was then slowly planting the seeds of civilization in the northern wilderness of the State. He was a man of unusual intellectual force, a close student, and soon rose to distinction at the Towanda Bar. He at once took the lead in the support of Van Buren for the Presidency in 1836, and in 1844 he was nominated as the Democratic candidate for Congress and elected by a large majority. During his first term in Congress the Democrats succeeded by the casting vote of Vice President Dallas in repealing the protective tariff of 1842, and in enacting the revenue tariff of 1846. The tariff issue was a most vital one in Pennsylvania, as the coal and iron interests of the State were struggling for development. The Democratic

leaders in the Clay-Polk contest of 1844 well understood that open hostility to a protective policy would defeat the party in the State, and banners were very common in the Democratic procession of that year bearing the inscription: "Polk, Dallas, Shunk and the Tariff of 1842."

So uncertain were the Democratic leaders as to the effect of their doubtful position on the tariff that they obtained a letter from Mr. Polk, addressed to Judge Kane, that was well designed to quiet the apprehensions of the Protection Democrats. This letter was construed and proclaimed from the hustings as an emphatic assurance to the people of Pennsylvania that if Polk were elected President the tariff of 1842 would not be disturbed. So general was this conviction among the Democrats of the State that when the tariff of 1846 came up in the House every Democratic Representative from Pennsylvania voted against it with the single exception of David Wilmot. He was a man of rugged integrity in public and private life; he did not believe in the policy of protection, and he openly declared that the attitude of his Democratic brethren in the State was dictated by political policy and not by conviction, and that he would not be a party to what he regarded as a violation of Democratic faith and a fraud upon the people. He was mercilessly criticised by the Whig journals and orators of the State and by very many of his own party leaders, some of whom earnestly urged the policy of defeating him in his own district. He represented an agricultural and lumber community, where there was little manufacturing, and most of his constituents were people of very moderate means and viewed taxation with abhorrence. He accepted the gage of battle invited alike by the Whigs and the opposing Democrats, stumped his district, boldly defending his position on the tariff, and won his re-election by a large majority when the Democratic State ticket was defeated, and only seven Democratic members of Congress, including Wilmot, were elected out of 24. It was only this clever political strategy on the tariff question in 1844 that saved the State to the Democrats and made Polk President, as Shunk, the Democratic candidate for Governor at the October election, received only 4,397 majority over Markle, his Whig competitor.

Wilmot had become a man of national fame by standing alone in the Pennsylvania delegation in 1846 in supporting the repeal



of the tariff of 1842, and his re-election, after the enactment of the revenue tariff, with only a corporal's guard of Democratic associates, attracted general attention to his prominence as a leader on the vital issue; but during his second term he reached the zenith of national fame as the presumed author of the Wilmot proviso prohibiting slavery in the new Territories soon to be acquired from Mexico. The Congressional prohibition of slavery in the Territories was not a new question, as it had been accepted by the Government in its early days, and was first proposed and supported by Jefferson and adopted with the general approval of the slave-holding portion of the country. It first appeared in the ordinance of 1784 under the Confederation, several years before the organization of our constitutional Government. The debt resulting from the Revolutionary war was then bearing very heavily upon the States, and it became necessary to look up all available resources to strengthen the credit of the Government and relieve the people from onerous taxation.

The Western Territories, North and South, were then undefined. Some of the States claimed possession westward as far as the domain extended, and what are now great and prosperous States were then beyond the lines of civilization, and, indeed, largely beyond the lines of adventure. Massachusetts, Connecticut, New York, Virginia, North Carolina and Georgia claimed immense domains outside of their specific boundaries, and the demand was made that the territorial limits of each State should be clearly defined, and that the outlying lands should be ceded to and held by Congress for the mutual benefit of all the States, with a view of applying the proceeds ultimately to the liquidation of the debts of the Confederation. The Ninth Continental Congress, which assembled at Philadelphia November 3, 1783, did little business for want of a quorum until March, 1784, when the delegates from Virginia proposed to cede to the Confederation the claims of their State to the Northwestern Territory, and an ordinance was proposed to carry that into effect. It was written by Jefferson. The proposition to transfer all the Northwestern Territory to the general Government contained five conditions, the fifth of which was in these words: "That after the year 1800 of the Christian era there shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude in any of the said States otherwise

than in punishment of crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted to have been personally guilty."

This was the first proposed Congressional prohibition of slavery in the Territories, and when the ordinance was under consideration Mr. Spaight, of North Carolina, moved that the fifth proposition be stricken out, and on the question the vote stood 16 in favor of retaining the section and 7 against it, and the States were divided 6 in favor of the section, with 3 against it. The articles of Confederation, however, required an affirmative vote of a majority of the States to carry any proposition, and as only 6 of the 13 had voted to retain the fifth section it was lost. The ordinance, with the fifth section eliminated by a minority in both States and delegates, was finally passed on the 23d of April, receiving the votes of all but those from South Carolina. In 1787, when the last Continental Congress was in session in New York, a new ordinance was proposed for the government of the Territories northwest of the Ohio. This measure applied simply to the territory claimed by Virginia, as the other States had not ceded the territory they claimed to the general Government. In this ordinance there were six conditions named for the transfer of the Northwestern Territories to the general Government, the last of which was as follows: "There shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude in the said territory otherwise than in punishment of crimes whereof the parties shall have been duly convicted." The only amendment made to Mr. Jefferson's ordinance of 1787 transferring the Northwestern Territory to the general Government was one providing for the rendition of fugitive slaves in accordance with the new Constitution that was then about to be adopted, and on the 13th of July it was passed by a unanimous vote of all the States and delegates.

The Wilmot proviso that convulsed the country half a century ago was simply a repetition of the Jefferson proviso to the ordinance of 1787. In 1846, when the Mexican war was in progress, it was well known that the purpose of the Administration was to acquire Mexican territory, with a view of creating future slave States, and thus maintain the equilibrium of the Government as taught by Calhoun. On the 8th of August, 1846, President Polk applied to Congress for an appropriation of several millions of dollars to be placed entirely at his own disposal for the purpose of negotiating a treaty of peace with

Mexico. The prospect of the erection of future slave States out of Mexican territory aroused the anti-slavery sentiment of the North, and among the most pronounced of the dozen or more anti-slavery Democrats was David Wilmot. The House had a decided Democratic majority, and the Speaker was in heartiest sympathy with the Administration in all its purposes. It was difficult, therefore, for Democrats who were suspected of opposition to the policy of the President to obtain recognition for the purpose of offering the anti-slavery proviso. At a conference of anti-slavery Democrats, Judge Brinkerhoff, of Ohio, presented what became known as the Wilmot Proviso, of which the following is the full text: "Provided, that as an expressed and fundamental condition to the acquisition of any territory from the Republic of Mexico by the United States, by virtue of any treaty that may be negotiated between them, and to the use by the Executive of the moneys herein appropriated, neither slavery nor involuntary servitude shall ever exist in any part of such territory, except for crime whereof the party shall be first duly convicted."

Copies of this proviso were made and given to each of the anti-slavery Democrats, with the understanding that the first of the number who could obtain the floor when the bill appropriating money to the President was under consideration should offer the amendment. It happened that Wilmot was the first to be recognized when the Mexican Peace Appropriation bill was before the House, and he thus became the father of what is now crystallized in history as the "Wilmot Proviso." When offered by Wilmot it produced the utmost consternation in the House, as many Democratic members had become alarmed at the anti-slavery sentiment developed in their districts. The House was in committee of the whole, and to the surprise of both sides the proviso was adopted by a vote of 83 to 64, the Democrats of the North uniting in supporting it with but three exceptions. When the bill came up before the House, Mr. Tibbetts, of Kentucky, moved that the bill lie on the table, but it was defeated by 93 to 79. The vote on engrossing the bill for third reading was 85 to 80, and on the final passage the appropriation, with the Wilmot Proviso embodied in it, received 83 votes to 73 against it. The bill went to the Senate, where Lewis, of Alabama, moved that the proviso be stricken out. It was the last

day of the session, when Senator Davis, of Massachusetts, obtained the floor and spoke against the proviso until the hour of noon, when the Senate adjourned without day. That was the first instance in which a bill was defeated by speaking against time in the Senate.

Wilmot was vehemently assailed by most of the leaders of his party, but the growing anti-slavery sentiment of the North, which soon culminated in an open breach in the party by Van Buren accepting a bolting Free Soil Democratic nomination for the Presidency against Cass, inspired Wilmot in his great battle, and he developed wonderful power as a public disputant. He was a man of rather sluggish temperament, and not a ready off-hand debater, but he was laborious in exhaustive study of any question when it became a matter of public interest, and when he appeared on the forum to defend his cause he was singularly forceful and persuasive. Wilmot's masterly speeches aroused his constituents to most aggressive action, and they carried the Democratic primaries and nominated him for a third term in Congress, but the Administration Democrats openly bolted and nominated Jonah Brewster, a pro-slavery Democrat, against him. There was a normal Democratic majority of about 2,000 in the district, and the Whigs, taking advantage of the Democratic disturbance, nominated Henry W. Tracey, and entered the contest confident of his election; but Wilmot broke up all party lines by his appeals to his people, and the result was his re-election by 8,597 votes to 4,795 for Tracey and only 922 for Brewster. He also boldly espoused the cause of Van Buren, and thereby gave Taylor, the Whig candidate for President, a decided majority over Cass. Wilmot's contest for re-election in 1848 attracted the attention of the whole nation, and his triumph did much to strengthen the anti-slavery movement throughout the North.

Wilmot's great strength was in his readiness to maintain the courage of his convictions. He never faltered when the slavery battle was on, and became very generally appreciated as one of the great anti-slavery leaders of the nation. He was guiltless of all the arts of the demagogue, sternly honest in all things and more than able to maintain his position against all comers. During his last term in Congress he was one of the most consistent and earnest, and certainly one of the ablest, of the brave

men who lined up to resist slavery aggregation, but the South then furnished the great leaders for the Democratic party. With them statesmanship and politics were professions, and their ablest men were trained and continued in the public service. Opposition to the Wilmot Proviso was finally forced as a cardinal doctrine of the party, and the anti-slavery Democrats were relentlessly proscribed. When Wilmot came up for re-election in 1850 he carried the Democratic primaries and was nominated, but newspapers had been started in every county of his district to oppose him, and his defeat was regarded as one of the first duties of those who desired the success of the Democracy of the nation. Another Democratic candidate was nominated against him, and with the increased strength, organization and abundant resources of his Democratic opponents it became evident that both the Democratic candidates were likely to be defeated and a Whig elected.

Conservative Democrats of the district interposed and suggested that both the Democratic candidates withdraw and select some Democrat upon whom all could unite. Wilmot promptly answered that he did not care to go back to Congress, and that he was entirely willing to retire from the field if a Democrat was nominated who would sustain his anti-slavery faith and was personally acceptable to himself. He was asked to suggest a man, and he named Galusha A. Grow, then a young member of the Bar in Susquehanna county, whose broken health made him abandon his profession for active outdoor life. The desire to retire Wilmot was so strong that his Democratic opponents readily accepted his declination on his own conditions, and both the candidates retired ten days before the election, and Grow was found out in the mountains by a committee and hurried back to make his battle. Thus Grow, who never dreamed of being a candidate, was nominated and elected, and entered Congress in 1851, just half a century ago, and is the only member of that Congress who is now in either branch of the national legislature.

Wilmot retired from Congress on the 4th of March, 1851, just when the people of Pennsylvania had changed their Constitution, making their judges elective, and he was nominated without serious opposition for President Judge of the Bradford and Susquehanna district and elected by an overwhelming ma-

jority. He brought to his judicial duties the same honest devotion to duty that he exhibited at all times in his public career, but when the bugle sounded for the political conflict in which the slavery issue was involved he was often forgetful of his judicial position as he mounted the rostrum to advocate his cause. When the Missouri Compromise was repealed in 1854 he was aroused to most active opposition. He called out all his stubbornly aggressive qualities, and he swept his northern counties away from their party moorings and largely aided in the election of Pollock, the Whig candidate for Governor.

In 1857 a Governor and other State officers were to be chosen in Pennsylvania. I was a delegate in the Republican convention of that year, and, after a very careful review of the situation, it was decided that the time had come for the Republicans to nominate a straight ticket even in the face of defeat. When that policy was determined there was but one candidate—Judge Wilmot—and he was given a unanimous nomination. He at once resigned his judgeship, and his place was filled by Governor Pollock by a friend of Wilmot's who would not stand in the way of his chief returning to the Bench if defeated for Governor. The battle was hopeless from the start, but I have never known a candidate to plead a cause so ably and so earnestly with the people of Pennsylvania as did Wilmot. He was not a graceful orator, nor was he skilled in rhetoric, nor had he any of the arts which are so often employed to make oratory effective, but his earnest, exhaustive, straightforward and manly presentation of the issue had never been surpassed by any of our Pennsylvania campaigners. He was defeated, of course, and was re-elected judge, but the political bitterness inspired by a desire to overthrow Wilmot as a political factor led to an organized effort to depose him as a judge. I was a member of the House, which was then two-thirds Democratic. A very innocent little bill in some way relating to the judiciary was passed by the House without objection, but when it reached the Senate, where the Democrats had three majority, it was amended to abolish Judge Wilmot's district by attaching Susquehanna to a district on the east and Bradford to a district on the west.

The Senate passed the bill with the amendment abolishing Wilmot's district, and the Bar of both counties divided sharply on Wilmot and anti-Wilmot lines, sent their prominent men to

Harrisburg, and as a member of the Judiciary Committee I heard the most impassioned appeals made alike for the passage and for the defeat of the bill. Wilmot came in person, threw himself into the contest with desperate earnestness, and in order to save him fifteen of his most devoted friends, who were opposed to all speculative legislation, agreed to vote for several objectionable measures in return for enough Democratic votes to save Wilmot. When the breach was made in the Democratic line, leading Democratic lawyers of the House came to the front, and the measure was defeated by a nearly two-thirds vote.

Wilmot went with his party in 1852 when it was united in support of Pierce, but when the repeal of the Missouri Compromise was made a party measure he deserted the Democrats and became not only a State but a national leader in the Republican organization, and was temporary president of the Chicago convention that nominated Lincoln. He was a candidate for Senator in 1861, but Cameron held the balance of power in the contest, and gave the victory to Edgar Cowan. Later during the same session, when Cameron resigned his Senatorship to enter the Cabinet, Wilmot was chosen to succeed him. At the end of his two years' term the Democrats had carried the Legislature by one majority and made Charles R. Buckalew Senator. Soon thereafter Wilmot was appointed a judge of the Court of Claims, a position that he held until his death. His vigor was much impaired during the last few years of his life by steadily failing health, and after his retirement from the Senate he ceased to take any active part in the political conflicts of the time. His health became so much impaired that he was finally able to give but little of his time to his judicial duties, and on the 16th of March, 1868, he quietly passed away in his mountain home at Towanda. In the beautiful suburbs of the town may be seen the little City of the Silent, and near the public road stands the simple marble headstone of the grave of David Wilmot, with his name and date of birth and death on the inner surface, and on the outer surface, where it can be seen by every passerby, is inscribed the text of the Wilmot Proviso.

## PATHETIC ECHOES OF LINCOLN ASSASSINATION.

April 14, 1865, was a day of general rejoicing among the loyal people of the nation. It was Good Friday, and the many religious people who observed it as a day of fasting and meditation mingled with their religious duties profoundest thanks to the God of nations, because the bloody fraternal war that had lasted for four years seemed about to terminate in the overthrow of the enemies of the republic and the re-establishment of peace. Only five days before General Lee had surrendered the Army of North Virginia to General Grant, and President Lincoln had already grappled with the grave problem of reconstruction. It was regular Cabinet day, and a protracted session was held and the question of reorganizing the Southern States was elaborately discussed. The President was unusually cheerful, and spoke most hopefully of the early establishment of peace and the reunion of the States. He emphasized his purpose to discard the policy of vengeance. He is quoted in Nicolay and Hay as saying to the Cabinet: "No one need expect that I will take any part in hanging or killing these men, even the worst of them. Threaten them out of the country, open the gates, let down the bars and scare them off. Enough lives have been sacrificed. We must extinguish our resentment if we expect harmony and union." After an exhaustive consideration of the question he selected a special committee of the Cabinet to formulate a policy of reconstruction on the lines he had indicated, declaring to the Cabinet that "they must now begin to act in the interest of peace." General Grant had just arrived at Washington crowned with the laurels of Appomattox, and sat with the Cabinet during most of its session, and telegraphic reports came of the imposing ceremonies at Charleston, where General Anderson had hoisted over Fort Sumter the same flag that he had taken down and saluted on that day four years before, when he surrendered the fort to General Beauregard. During the afternoon the President took a drive with Mrs.



Lincoln, and his biographers before quoted say: "Never simpler or gentler than on this day of unprecedented triumph; his heart overflowed with sentiments of gratitude to heaven, which took the shape usual to generous natures, of love and kindness to all men."

The surrender of Lee practically overthrew the military power of the Confederacy. There were other Confederate armies in the field, the largest of which was in North Carolina, commanded by General Joseph E. Johnston, but in his front was the victorious army of Sherman, largely outnumbering him in every attribute of military strength and confident of an easy victory over the broken, despairing and disintegrated army of the enemy. The occasion had suddenly come to test the statesmanship of our Government, and Lincoln not only well understood the great duty imposed upon him, but he well understood how to incline the South to peace and reunion. He felt that the great work of rehabilitation depended largely upon himself. Congress was not in session, and would not meet until December, and he was confident that he could attain such progress in reconstruction on generous and sympathetic lines as would practically determine the action of Congress and bring it into accord with the Administration. Had Congress been in session the radical elements would have been vehement for vengeance and greatly retarded the reunion that Lincoln had so well considered as possible and so well matured his plans to accomplish.

President Lincoln and General Grant were invited with their wives to appear at Ford's Theatre in the evening to witness the play of "Our American Cousin," by Laura Keane's company, and both had accepted; but General and Mrs. Grant later decided to take a train for the North in the evening, and Major Henry R. Rathbone and Miss Harris, daughter of Senator Harris and fiancée of Major Rathbone, were invited by Mrs. Lincoln to join them. It had been publicly announced that Lincoln and Grant would be at the theatre that evening, and the auditorium was crowded from parquet to dome to welcome the President and the victor of Appomattox. When Lincoln and his party entered the theatre there was an instant pause in the play, and the audience rose to cheer the distinguished guest, while the band played "Hail to the Chief." About 10 o'clock J. Wilkes Booth, who had acted in the same theatre and had the entre to

every part of it, entered and passed unobstructed to the President's box, armed with a Derringer pistol and a dagger. He quietly entered the box, and before he was observed by any one pointed the pistol close to the head of the President and fired. The heavy ball crashed through the skull into the brain, and Lincoln was mortally wounded. Booth immediately sprang from the box onto the stage whirling his dagger over his head, and with the defiant utterance of "*Sic semper tyrannus!*" he rushed out at the rear of the theatre, where a horse was held in waiting for him. He was a trained athlete, and his spring from the box to the stage was an easy task, but the stage was draped with a bountiful supply of Stars and Stripes, and his spurs caught in the flag, bringing him to a fall that broke one of his legs, thus greatly hindering his escape. The story of the removal of Lincoln to a humble private dwelling across the street, of his death and the vicissitudes and tragic death of Booth and his associates are too well known to need repetition.

Of all the many sad days of the war, during which I felt its fiercest desolation in my own home in Chambersburg, the morning of the 15th of April I ever recall as the one dark day in which there did not seem to be a semblance of silver lining to the impenetrable cloud that hung over us. I went to the depot at 9 o'clock in the morning to take a train for Philadelphia, and was there informed by the telegraph operator that a dispatch had just passed over the lines telling that Lincoln had died at 7.22 that morning from a bullet wound inflicted by Booth, the actor, at Ford's Theatre, the evening before. The keen sorrow the tragedy brought to me with my wealth of affection for Abraham Lincoln was measurably overshadowed by what seemed to be a sudden plunge of the nation into anarchy just when its deliverance was so brightly promised. Andrew Johnson, the new Vice-President, had appeared at the inauguration and given such a disgraceful exhibition of himself that he was compelled to retire to escape the threatened resentment of the Senate for its fearfully offended dignity. The elder Francis P. Blair kindly took Johnson to his country home, and he had never entered the Senate after his inauguration as Vice-President, although in the enjoyment of his usual health, and he had been very generally and severely criticised for the dishonor he had brought upon his great office and upon the Government.

Such a man called to the Presidency to meet the gravest duties which ever confronted an Executive, with his unbridled political passions, which had been poured out in a flood tide against the South, seemed to dispel the last hope of the reunion of the States. He was then an unknown quantity in politics; had never voted the Republican ticket until he voted for himself as a candidate for Vice-President, and all who had on that fateful 14th of April shared the joy of Abraham Lincoln were suddenly plunged into the starless midnight of despair.

The present generation, which has witnessed the assassination of Presidents Garfield and McKinley, can form no conception of the political and sectional conditions which existed when Lincoln was murdered. Garfield and McKinley were assassinated by unbalanced cranks and the whole people were stricken with sorrow, but Lincoln fell by the assassin's bullet when the South was implacable in its hostility to him, believing him to be a rude jester and relentless butcher, and even in the North, so intense was the partisan strife of that day, there were many who were in sincere sympathy with the South but too cowardly to avow it, who felt no sorrow because of Lincoln's death. The Confederacy was then in the agony of its last throes, and even President Davis, who was then a fugitive from his capital, when advised of the assassination of Lincoln believed that it would strengthen his cause. In his "Rise and Fall of the Confederate Government" he admits that the dispatch announcing Lincoln's assassination was read in his presence to the Confederate troops of North Carolina and elicited cheers, and he adds: "For an enemy so relentless in a war for our subjugation, we could not be expected to mourn." His estimate of Lincoln was that of the South generally. He believed Lincoln to be a relentless tyrant, and hoped that Lincoln's death might in some measure repair his shattered fortunes, but fifteen years later, when I visited him in his home in Mississippi, he paid the highest possible tribute to Lincoln, expressed sincere regret that he did not better understand him during the war, and said that next to the day of the fall of the Confederacy the darkest day the South has seen was the day of Lincoln's assassination.

The period of more than a generation has passed since the murder of Lincoln, but the painful and often pathetic echoes of that assassination have not yet entirely perished. I never met

J. Wilkes Booth personally, and never saw him play but once, and that was at Ford's Theatre, in Washington, only a few months before he committed his awful crime in the same forum. He appeared as Pescara in the play of "The Apostate," and I was greatly disappointed to find one bearing the name of Booth, with nearly a decade of experience on the stage, exhibit so little of histrionic ability. He was a man of strikingly handsome presence, flashing dark eyes, and rather pale complexion, with admirable grace of manner, but in the play he seemed to be wildly tragic whenever opportunity offered, and possessed none of the inspiring and impressive attributes of his father or of his brother, Edwin. On the stage he showed his true character as fanatical in everything he attempted. He was a wild enthusiast, a creature of unbridled impulse, delighting in waywardness, and evidently without any adequate moral balance. He was one of the three sons of Junius Brutus Booth, who is remembered as the most accomplished tragedian of his day, and whose life was replete with strange vicissitudes alike in its domestic, professional and individual features, and at times disturbed by mental disorder.

J. Wilkes Booth was a blatant secessionist before and during the war. He was a volunteer in aiding the capture of John Brown. He had staked everything on the success of the Confederacy, and expected to be lionized as its great tragedian after it had been established. In the latter part of 1864 and the early part of 1865 he saw that the military power of the Confederacy was broken, and his distempered and unbalanced mind was absorbed in schemes to halt the adverse tide against the lost cause. He first planned the abduction of Lincoln, and gathered around him a little circle consisting of Lewis Powell, alias Payne, an ex-Confederate soldier from Florida; George Atzerodt, who had been playing spy and Potomac blockade runner; Samuel Harold and Michael O'Laughlin, Confederate soldiers from Maryland, and John H. Surratt, son of Mrs. Mary E. Surratt, at whose house in Washington the conspirators met. Booth's plan was to abduct Lincoln and conduct him to Richmond, thereby making himself the hero of the Confederacy and attain peace; but disaster followed disaster to the Confederate cause, and finally the surrender of Lee so inflamed Booth that he resolved upon the murder of Lincoln, Seward and Johnson; and when

the announcement was made that Lincoln would attend the theatre on the evening of the 14th of April he suddenly decided that the murderous work must be completed that night. He assumed to become the murderer of Lincoln, Payne was assigned to murder Seward and Atzerodt was given the task of murdering Johnson. He executed his part and gratified himself by posing as a most heroic murderer; Payne attempted but failed in the murder of Seward, and Atzerodt was too cowardly to attempt the performance of the fiendish task assigned to him.

Booth was hunted with tireless energy, and when his monstrous crime was made known to his friends in Maryland and Virginia, from whom he sought shelter, they taught him the deepest measure of despair by refusing to be in any way connected with him, although many of them gave him food and shelter outside of their homes. He was finally overtaken in a barn where he had taken refuge, the torch was applied, and when the fury of the flames lighted up his hiding place Boston Corbett fired upon him and inflicted a mortal wound, and after three hours lingering in excruciating pain he died at 7 o'clock on the morning of the 25th of April, 1865.

J. Wilkes Booth promptly paid the penalty of his fearful crime, but terrible as were his sufferings, and tragic as was his death, there were others innocent as the unborn babe who suffered untold agonies and worse than a thousand deaths because of the Lincoln assassination. John Sleeper Clarke is well remembered by the people of Philadelphia, but most of those of the present day recall him only as he has appeared on our theatrical boards for two or three brief seasons since he made his home in London. I well remember him as one of the most delightful of our young comedians at Wheatley & Drew's Arch Street Theatre. He rose rapidly in his profession, and there are many yet who remember his Toodles, his Paul Pry, his Wellington De Boots and other characters in comedy in which he was excelled by none and equaled by few. When just attaining his high position as a comedian he married Miss Asia Booth, only daughter of the elder tragedian, and they made their home in West Philadelphia. He was an accomplished gentleman, devoted only to his profession and his home circle, which to him was the holiest place of earth, and J. Wilkes Booth, when temporarily visiting Philadelphia, made his home with Clarke.

On the morning of the 15th of April, 1865, while Clarke was shaving himself, he was shocked by a terrible scream from his wife, who had the morning paper brought up to her before she left her bed. When Clarke rushed to his wife and inquired the cause of her disturbance, she pointed to the terrible headlines in the paper announcing that J. Wilkes Booth had murdered the President. Language could not define the terrible blow to Clarke and his wife. She was not in vigorous health, and while vainly trying to calm her hysterical agony a United States marshal knocked for admittance, placed a guard about the house and permitted none to enter or leave it. Clarke was notified that he and his wife were under arrest for complicity in the murder of Lincoln. The officer knew Clarke well and knew that he was entirely guiltless of any knowledge of the murderous purposes of his erratic brother-in-law, but the whole nation was shocked and every possible source of information relating to the conspiracy was seized by the omnipotent power of the Government. The house was carefully searched, and, of course, nothing found to indicate that the murder had been considered there. Clarke was taken as a prisoner to Washington, committed to the old capital prison, but no charge was made against him, and when the case was finally unraveled and the guilty parties discovered he was given his freedom without conditions, and thereby publicly acquitted of all participation in, or knowledge of, the crime of Booth. Mrs. Clarke was held for some time as captive in her own house, where a few weeks after the liberation of her husband, Creston Clarke, the present distinguished dramatic artist, well known throughout the land, was born.

Clarke's high hopes of a long and successful dramatic career in this country were suddenly ended, and he went to London with his family. He never severed his relations with his old friends here, and evidently had great pride in the country that he felt he could visit only as a stranger. I remember him calling at my house one morning when he was filling an engagement in this country some fifteen or eighteen years ago, and he left with me his check for \$500 as a contribution for a popular celebration of the Fourth of July, then a few days distant. It was easy to see that he was broken-hearted, and it was hard for him to say that his wife had not visited her home country because of her infirm health and great suffering during sea

voyage, but between the lines could be well understood the fact that Mrs. Clarke never could entertain the idea of visiting the United States, where the crime of her brother would be on every tongue. Clarke won fame and fortune abroad, and always had large investments in this country, but his life was ever overshadowed in the terrible cloud of sorrow that hung like a pall over him and his household.

Creston Clarke grew up as a boy in London entirely ignorant of the crime that attached to his family, until one day when ten years of age, while playing with some American boys in London, one of them asked him whether he was related to the Booth who had murdered Lincoln. The boy was dumfounded, and immediately ran home and asked his mother what it meant. With tears in her eyes she simply answered: "Ask your father." He did so, and then for the first time learned the story that had brought consuming and ineffaceable sorrow to his parents. Mrs. Clarke lived only at the altar of her home and family, and was personally unknown in London, save to a very few trusted friends. She died broken-hearted and welcomed the grave as giving the peace that life refused. A few years ago Clarke followed her to the long home for which both had sighed through many years.

Another sad life was a most pathetic echo of the assassination of Lincoln for more than a quarter of a century. On the night of the 14th of April Edwin Booth, brother of J. Wilkes Booth, played to a crowded house in Boston in the character of Sir Edward Mortimer, and the next morning, when he read the terrible announcement of the assassination of Lincoln, he was utterly overwhelmed, and at once announced his purpose to retire from the stage forever. He was a gentleman of the highest culture, a most blameless character, genial, refined and beloved by all who knew him, and he was credited as the only one of the three sons of the great tragedian who inherited a large measure of his father's genius. He was then in the zenith of his fame and just in the noontide of life. Five years before he had married Miss Mary Devlin, an accomplished and highly respected actress, but in less than three years she died, leaving a daughter Edwina. It is an open secret that at the time of the assassination of Lincoln Booth was engaged to a very beautiful and accomplished Philadelphia lady, but soon thereafter her father on

his deathbed exacted from her a promise that she should not become the wife of Edwin Booth. The promise was given, and after the death of the father the lady entered a convent in France and dedicated herself to the church. For nearly a year Booth was practically a recluse, shunning all appearance in public and seeing only a few of his devoted friends. He was naturally of quiet, sober temperament, and the fearful calamity had brought him continued melancholy. His friends finally urged him to resume his profession, but he first vehemently refused it. After repeated and earnest appeals to him to resume his life work for his own sake, with the assurance that the public would welcome him with generous sympathy because of his unspeakable suffering, he finally reappeared in "Hamlet" at the Winter Garden Theatre of New York in 1866, and was received with boundless enthusiasm. He then continued his great career as a dramatic artist, and with the highest measure of success, not only at home but abroad. He played in nearly all of the leading cities of the country, with the single exception of Washington, where he always refused to appear. Later on he had associated with him as leading lady Miss McVicker, of Chicago, one of the sprightliest little actresses of her time. She was a ray of sunshine wherever she went, and soon rekindled in Booth the hopes and affections which he had consigned to forgetfulness. They were married, and played together for several years, when another sad affliction befell him, as his bright and charming wife became first a prey to melancholy and finally ended in hopeless insanity that soon gave her refuge in death. His last efforts on the stage are well remembered as the most successful of any of our distinguished dramatic artists. It was in association with Barrett, on whom the sobered and sorrowing spirit of Booth could rely for devoted friendship and business management; but Barrett's death in 1891 made Booth feel like a tempest-tossed ship at sea, without rudder or compass, and he lived quietly in his home in the Players' Club, New York City, which he had founded, until June 7, 1893, when this sad and most pathetic echo of the Lincoln assassination went to final rest in the grave.



## THE RISE AND FALL OF THE NEGRO IN POLITICS.

The negro race is entirely unrepresented in either branch of the present Congress, and I cannot recall a negro Senator, Representative or State officer in any one of the Northern States. For the full period of a generation, with a single brief exception, the negro was represented in one or both branches of our national legislature, but he is now retired and apparently without hope of reasserting himself as a factor in national legislation.

The story of the rise and fall of the negro in politics is one of the most interesting of the many strange chapters of our national history during the last generation. When reconstruction came after the surrender of the Confederate armies only a few of the more radical leaders of the Republican party contemplated universal negro suffrage in the South, and had Lincoln lived it certainly would not have been attained. It was only when the strong Republican House and Senate came in direct conflict with President Johnson that it was found to be necessary to enfranchise the negro and disfranchise the Confederates to a large extent to accomplish reconstruction on a basis that promised the mastery of Republican power in the South. I believe that Lincoln would have reconstructed the South without universal negro suffrage and made a majority of the Southern States Republican, but when the issue came between Congress and Johnson the radical element of the Republican leadership was doubly armed, by Johnson's apostasy, in the effort to force universal suffrage in the South, and it created a political mastery whose record is one of the most fearful blemishes in the annals of the Republic.

Universal negro suffrage was first established in the District of Columbia, where Congress has supreme authority, and a territorial government organized with legislative authority chosen largely by the enfranchised freedmen. A very few years made

it an imperative necessity for Congress to disfranchise the entire people of the District of Columbia solely to escape the ignorant and profligate rule of the negro. I happened to be present in the gallery of the Senate when Senator Morton, the ablest all around leader of the Republican party, made his final appeal against the passage of the bill repealing the right of suffrage in the District of Columbia. He was a man of broad, practical ideas, and he told the Senate in plain terms that the disfranchisement of the negro in the District of Columbia would be but the beginning of the end, as thereafter Congress could make no accusation against the Southern States for taking the same action. His appeal was unavailing, as he well knew, and the same Republican authority that had enfranchised the negro under the very shadow of the Capitol of the nation was compelled to declare that his disfranchisement had become an imperious necessity to protect property and maintain social order. The Southern States which have, by ingenious constitutional devices, practically disfranchised the negro have simply followed the teaching of a Republican Congress and President which disfranchised him in the capital city.

The general newspaper reader of the present day knows little of the deep and widespread prejudice among the early Republicans against universal suffrage for the negro. The prejudice against the black man was as strong in the North as in the South. With all the earnest efforts of the Republicans to give the negro freedom and all his legal rights, they shunned him as a political associate and shuddered at his fellowship in official position. It is now more than a generation since the negro was declared the equal of the white man before the law in every section of the Union, and in every Northern State the negroes, as a rule, have voted solidly and uniformly for the Republican party; but not a single negro has ever been elected to Congress in any Northern State; none have been elected to any State office in the North, with the single exception of one of the Western States where a negro was elected to a subordinate office, falling many thousands behind his ticket, and I can recall very few instances in which the negro has been elected to any Northern Legislature.

In Philadelphia, where the colored voters held the balance of power between the parties for twenty years, the highest posi-

tion to which any one has been elected was that of Councilman, and only two reached that distinction. The first negro placed on the police in Philadelphia was appointed by Democratic Mayor King fully twenty years after the Republicans had proclaimed the entire equality of both races before the law and in the enjoyment of civil rights. In one or two instances Republicans of Pennsylvania have placed a wealthy negro on the electoral ticket, being the only place where one of that race could be safely nominated, and today there are more colored teachers employed by the single State of South Carolina than are employed in the public schools of all the Northern States of the Union.

It was not until the 7th of December, 1868, that the first negro applied for admission into Congress. There was a vacancy in the Second district of Louisiana, and at the general election of November 3, 1868, J. Willis Menard, a resident of New Orleans, was certified by Governor Warmoth as elected to fill the vacancy. The House was largely Republican, but the idea of admitting a negro into Congress threw many of the Republican members into a hysterical condition. They could not frankly oppose him because he was a negro, and they made a microscopical examination of the regularity of his credentials. He was allowed to be heard in defence of his own case, as is common in such cases, and thus became the first of his race whose voice was heard on the floor of the House of Representatives; but his certificate was rejected by an overwhelming majority, and the Republican leaders breathed more freely because they had, for at least a season, escaped the fellowship of a black man in the councils of the nation. Menard was one of the most accomplished of his race, a college graduate, and had rendered very creditable service to the Government, but three years after the close of the war that had been fought for the freedom and finally for the enfranchisement of the black man, a Republican Congress was unwilling to accept even one of the most creditable of his race to membership.

In less than two years the negro again knocked for admission into Congress, and this time he stood at the door of the Senate. In January, 1870, Hiram R. Revells, a man of much more than common ability and of unblemished integrity, was elected to the Senate to fill an unexpired term by the Mississippi Legislature.

It was accepted as the irony of fate that this negro leader should be chosen to fill the vacancy in the United States Senate that had been created by the resignation of Jefferson Davis at the beginning of the war. Mr. Revells was a Methodist minister, and highly respected as one of the most prominent and useful of the colored leaders of the South. On the 25th of January, five days after his election, he appeared in Washington, and the Republican leaders of the first legislative tribunal of the nation were in consternation at the threatened advent of the negro in the Senate. The Senate was overwhelmingly Republican, but many of the party leaders made exhaustive study to find some reasonable excuse for refusing the seat to Revells. It was not until a month after he had given his credentials to Senator Wilson, of Massachusetts, that Wilson felt safe in presenting them to the body, and moving that Revells be sworn as a Senator. An animated debate followed, occupying three days, in which Republican Senators invented many excuses for rejecting the credentials with the negro behind them; but on the 25th of February Charles Sumner delivered one of the ablest speeches of his life in defence of the rights of the negro, resulting in the admission of Revells by a decided majority. Thus on the 25th of February, 1870, the first negro entered our national legislature when Hiram R. Revells was qualified as United States Senator, and during his term of little more than one year he enjoyed the solitude that was broken by very few of his fellow-Senators in social intercourse even on the floor of the Senate.

I met Senator Revells when he was a member of the Senate, and was very much interested in him as the first representative of his race in our National Congress. He was a man of rather imposing presence, severely unassuming and unusually intelligent. He was sincerely devoted to the elevation and improvement of his race on the highest lines of advancement, and he probably did more than any one of his race in his day in smoothing the thorny pathway for his people in the South. A notable illustration of the general public sentiment in the North on the subject of the negro as a national legislator was given in Philadelphia soon after Revells' admission to the Senate. He suddenly rose to national fame as the first black man to become a national lawmaker, and he delivered lectures in many sections of the country, which were largely attended. Among other

invitations he received and accepted was one to lecture in Philadelphia in the Academy of Music, but when application was made for the use of the Academy the managers of that institution were thrown into hysterics at the suggestion of bringing a negro on its platform, and Revells was refused the right to speak there. Of course, it was not announced that the Academy was refused because Revells was a negro, but it was none the less the truth. The Black Swan was allowed to warble her sweet notes on the same platform, but she was not a political factor, and her coming did not mean political fellowship, but the advent of the negro Senator was a living object lesson of equal rights for the black man which could not at that day be accepted even in loyal Philadelphia.

Ten years after Revells' retirement from the Senate I visited the capital of Mississippi, and there met the late Senator George, who was then Senator-elect, with the Governor of the State and a number of other prominent officials. I was equally surprised and gratified to hear from them that ex-Senator Revells was doing a great work in Mississippi as president of a college for colored students, and that he was very highly respected, and his work was so well appreciated that the State of Jefferson Davis, who was then living, contributed annually and liberally to maintain the institution. Revells continued in that work until his death, and he lived to see Blanche K. Bruce, of his own race, represent his State in the Senate, with half a dozen or more negro Representatives in the House. Bruce entered the Senate in 1875, served a full term, and afterward was made Register of the Treasury. He had a more rosy pathway than his predecessor in the Senate, as the negro was no longer shunned as a pest in the councils of the nation. Since Bruce's retirement in 1881 the colored race has been without representation in the Senate.

With the appearance of Revells in the Senate came two negro Representatives—Joseph R. Rainey, of South Carolina, who was admitted without question, and Jefferson F. Long, of Georgia, who filled an unexpired term of little more than a month, and who was the only negro ever chosen to either branch of Congress in that State. From the time of the appearance of Rainey in the Forty-first Congress the negro has served in one or both branches until the close of the last Congress, with the

single exception of the Fiftieth Congress, when it happened that the colored race was without representation.

South Carolina had the most brilliant galaxy of colored leaders of any State in the South, and the negro never had such opportunities to prove his ability to exercise high official authority and to vindicate his race. I spent part of the winter of 1870 in Columbia, the capital of the State, for the purpose of completing an air railway line to the South, and I was brought into very close connection with the authorities of the State. The Governor was a weak white man—weak in intellect, more than weak in integrity and the plaything of a coterie of spoilsmen. Cardosa, a highly-educated negro, and long a minister in Massachusetts, was treasurer of the State, and certainly he meant to use all his efforts to maintain a thoroughly creditable administration, but he had little encouragement from either the whites or the blacks around him. Of all the white State officials Secretary Chamberlain, afterward Governor, was the only one who seemed to appreciate the opportunity and the duty to restore a great commonwealth to some measure of prosperity. With Cardosa were Rainey and Smalls and Nash and Elliott and Purves, who bore an honored Philadelphia name, and Whipper, and Wright, then a Supreme Judge, and Delaney and Boseman. I met them frequently, and several times in general conference, for every interest with which I was identified would be aided or hindered by good or bad local government.

This circle of negro leaders possessed an unusual measure of intellectual force. Cardosa was thoroughly cultured; Rainey served longer in Congress than any other negro of our history, and maintained himself creditably in point of ability; Elliott was the most brilliant of all, and later startled the country by his reply to Stephens, ex-Vice-President of the Confederacy, on the floor of the House, and proved himself a foeman worthy of the steel of the able Southern leader; Delaney won college honors in Ohio, and boldly struggled for honest government until the last hope perished, and Boseman, who wanted to make a creditable record for his race, finally gave up the battle and nestled down as postmaster of Charleston. True, the environment of these negro leaders gave little encouragement to those who sought to make the government of South Carolina distinguished as an illustration of the ability and integrity of a negro

ruler. All of them were impoverished, and they soon saw only profligacy and demoralization around them on every side. One by one they faltered and fell, with very rare exceptions, and to-day four of them are convicts in the criminal records of the State, convicted in their own courts and by negro juries, and some of them are holding department offices in Washington. They escaped sentence by the peace made in 1877, when the Federal authorities had a number of South Carolinians convicted as Kuklux marauders, and one of the United States Senators from the State was a fugitive from justice. An unwritten compact was made that the Kuklux convicts and the criminals convicted in the State courts should not be called for sentence, and that General Butler, the representative of the Hampton government, whose election to the Senate was then contested, should be admitted to the Senate. Such in brief is the story of negro opportunity and negro failure in South Carolina.

Three of these South Carolina negroes were elected and promptly admitted to the Forty-second Congress, viz.: Rainey, Elliott and De Large. Rainey served five terms in Congress, and Elliott, when in his second term, resigned his seat to accept a more lucrative local office. In 1873 John R. Lynch, another prominent negro, appeared as a member of Congress from Mississippi, and was one of seven negroes in that body. He was elected for three consecutive terms, and I saw the rapidly growing tolerance of the Republican leaders for negro political fellowship very impressively portrayed at the Chicago Republican National Convention in 1884. When the chairman of the National Committee called the body to order, one of the youngest members of the convention rose, and in a speech of singular elegance and force nominated Representative Lynch as temporary chairman. In presenting this nomination the young orator said that it was "a fitting thing for us to choose to preside over the convention one of that race whose right to sit within these walls is due to the blood and treasure so lavishly spent by the founders of the Republican party." Mr. Lynch was promptly and unanimously elected, and the young orator who thus presented the first negro to preside over a national convention, and the only one of his race who has ever been in charge of such a body, was Theodore Roosevelt, now President of the United States.









HILL

HOOD

DAVIS

STUART

JACKSON

LEE

LONGSTREET

J.E. JOHNSTON

BEAUREGARD

CONFEDERATE COMMANDERS.

A COMPOSITION BY NOTMAN, USED HERE BY THE COURTESY OF THE TRAVELLERS INSURANCE COMPANY



The Forty-fourth Congress brought two negroes into the House who became conspicuous in the political movements of their party. They were Jerry Haroldson, of Alabama, and Robert Smalls, of South Carolina. Haroldson's service was brief, but he was long a potent political factor in his State, and gained thrift by his shrewd and always close dealings in the sale of delegations from his State in national conventions. Smalls served six years in Congress, and attracted much attention because of his heroic act in the early part of the war, when he took his family in a boat, and sailed out of Charleston harbor to join our blockading fleet, after which he rendered very important service to the Union cause. He was one of the Sea Island slaves of South Carolina, and very illiterate. He took no part in Congressional debate, but was an active, energetic and in some degree an influential member. He was one of the prominent negro leaders of the State who made a sad record in the criminal courts, but was saved with others by the universal amnesty of 1877, and has since been rewarded with important Federal positions in his State.

When Congress met in 1879 the entire negro representation in the House had been effaced, and Senator Bruce alone represented his race in the national councils. In the succeeding Congress Smalls and Lynch reappeared as Representatives, and in the following Congress James D. O'Harra, Representative from North Carolina, was the only negro in either branch of the national legislature. He was defeated for re-election to the Fiftieth Congress, and no negro was elected in either House or Senate from any other State, thus leaving that Congress without a single negro representative in either branch. In the Fifty-first Congress the negro appeared again in Representative John M. Langston, of Virginia; Thomas E. Miller, of South Carolina, and Henry C. Cheatham, of North Carolina. In the Fifty-second Congress Cheatham was the sole representative of his race, as was George W. Murray, of South Carolina, in the Fifty-third and Fifty-fourth Congresses, and George H. White, of North Carolina, served alone of his race in the Fifty-fifth and Fifty-sixth. Thus ended the record of the negro as a national legislator.

The negro is at present retired from high official position. Will that retirement be permanent? I see nothing in the present

political conditions to warrant the hope that the negro will at any time in the near future become a political factor in national affairs. He is practically disfranchised in all of the Southern States, where his numerical power would give him political control, and he has made no progress in political advancement in any of the Northern States, strongly and radically Republican as many of them are. As a rule, the enfranchisement of the negro has not elevated him or inspired him to the great work of educating and ennobling the race. There are very many most creditable exceptions, but the great mass of the colored vote in our Northern cities is a mere commercial commodity, and that has made the elevation of cultured and highly-respected negroes to honored political positions next to impossible. If this discreditable condition was confined to the black race it would be an inefaceable reproach upon the negro, but it is only just to say that in his debauchery of the sacred elective franchise the black man is only an imitator of his white political associates. From the present outlook it seems to be clearly indicated that the mission of the negro is ended as a political factor in high official trust.

## ROBERT E. LEE, ONE OF THE GREAT COMMANDERS OF THE CENTURY.

For a year or more before our civil war the citizens of and visitors in Washington were often attracted by a solitary horseman on the streets of the capital. He was known as one of the handsomest of our prominent men, rode with superb grace and was as modest and unassuming in manner as he was elegant in form and action. This man was Robert E. Lee, then Lieutenant-Colonel of the Second Regiment of Cavalry, who, after having served with his regiment in Texas for a considerable period, was called to Washington in 1859 to join the staff of General Winfield Scott. It was his usual custom to ride on horseback from his magnificent estate and palatial mansion, known as Arlington, on the southern side of the Potomac, to the headquarters of the army, and return in the evening. That he attracted attention on the streets of the capital was not a source of gratification to him, as he was one of the most unpretentious of gentlemen, and he rarely rode through the great thoroughfares.

Lee was then regarded as the most accomplished of the younger soldiers of the United States army. He was a man of exquisite form and feature, in the full vigor of manhood, had won promotion in Mexico on several battlefields, and when the fearful storm of civil war broke upon the country the conviction was universal among those responsibly connected with the army that Colonel Lee was the best-equipped of all our many gallant soldiers to command the Union army. Within two weeks after the inauguration of Lincoln he promoted Lieutenant-Colonel Lee to the position of Colonel of the First Cavalry. He was not only a thoroughly educated and experienced soldier, but he was pronounced by Nicolay and Hay in the "Life of Lincoln" as a man "of fine presence, ripe judgment and mature manhood." It was an open secret before war was precipitated by the firing upon Sumter that Colonel Lee would be

assigned to the command of the Union army in the field when war came, which was then accepted as inevitable. He was known to be opposed to secession, and he did not conceal his views on the subject. A few weeks before his resignation from the army he wrote to his oldest son, George Washington Custis Lee, a graduate of West Point and major in the army: "Secession is nothing but revolution. The framers of our Constitution never exhausted so much labor, wisdom and forbearance in its formation and surrounded it with so many guards and securities if it was intended to be broken by every member of the Confederacy at will." But, while Lee was very earnestly opposed to secession, he had been educated in support of the doctrine of the sovereignty of the State and of the obedience of the citizen to the State as paramount to obedience to the national Government.

I was personally and somewhat intimately acquainted with General Cameron, Secretary of War, and with Colonel Scott, his Assistant Secretary, and saw them very often when the dark clouds of fraternal conflict were gathering over us. They knew that General Scott was past usefulness as an active commander; they were entirely confident that Colonel Lee would remain in the Union army with General Scott, and they believed that they had the best-equipped commander of the entire army to place at the head of the Union forces in the field.

After the bombardment of Sumter the elder Francis P. Blair was chosen by the President and Secretary of War to have a personal conference with Colonel Lee, and to give him a formal offer of the command of the Union troops. Virginia, his native State, had not then seceded. On the contrary, the convention had voted against secession. There are conflicting reports as to the precise language used by Colonel Lee in answer to Blair's proffer of the command of the army. General Cameron, in a debate in the Senate in 1868, stated that his understanding was that Lee had verbally accepted, but Montgomery Blair in a communication published in the *National Intelligencer*, August 9, 1866, when the elder Blair was still living, gave Lee's answer to his father in these words: "Mr. Blair, I look upon secession as anarchy. If I owned the four millions of slaves of the South I would sacrifice them all to the Union, but how can I draw my sword upon Virginia, my native State?" According to this

report Lee left the question open for further conference with General Scott. On the 25th of February, 1868, Lee wrote to Reverdy Johnson on the controversy as to whether he had agreed to accept the Union command. In this letter he denied that he had ever intimated to any one that he desired such a command, and said: "I declined the offer he (Mr. Blair) made to me to take the command of the army that was to be brought into the field, stating as candidly and as courteously as I could that, though opposed to secession and deprecating war, I could take no part in an invasion of the Southern States."

It seems to be well established that Lee considered the question of accepting the command of the Union army until Virginia seceded and joined the Confederacy. When Lee returned to Arlington on the evening of the 19th of April he received information of the secession of Virginia, that had been secretly adopted on the 17th, and the following morning he sent his resignation to General Scott in a letter as follows:

ARLINGTON, April 20, 1861.

GENERAL :—Since my interview with you on the 18th inst., I have felt that I ought not longer to retain my commission in the army. I therefore tender my resignation, which I request you will recommend for acceptance. It would have been presented at once, but for the struggle it has cost me to separate myself from a service to which I have devoted all the best years of my life, and all the ability I possess. . . . Save in defence of my native State, I never desire again to draw my sword.

R. E. LEE.

One feature of the military record of General Lee I have never seen discussed in any of the histories of the war. Lee on more than one occasion declared his purpose never to draw his sword except in defence of the State whose sovereignty he regarded as paramount. On the 22d of April he left his beautiful home in Arlington, never to return to it, and on the following day he was appointed by the State authorities Major-General, with chief command of the Virginia State forces. He did not enter the military service of the Confederacy, but remained in command of the State forces until the Confederate capital was moved to Richmond, and the State forces were incorporated into the Southern army. He conducted a campaign in the western part of Virginia without important achievement, and he was called to Richmond by President Davis as chief military officer and adviser in the Confederate capital.



It was not by accident, nor by any desire of President Davis to keep so accomplished an officer as General Lee from active service in the field, that General Lee was detained in Richmond. It was well known that Lee's purpose was not to engage in any war beyond the defence of his native State, and I have good reason to believe that he refused active service in the field because it might require him to go beyond the lines of his State. His oldest son, General G. W. Custis Lee, who had resigned from the army with his father, was equally positive in his declaration not to be engaged in any war except in defence of Virginia, and for that reason he was not in field duty. Both of them were accomplished soldiers, and admirably fitted for field service, but they were men of the highest measure of conscientiousness, and held that they could not consistently engage in a war against the Government whose service they had accepted, save in defence of the sovereignty of their commonwealth.

General Custis Lee took little part in field warfare during the entire struggle, and his father was brought to the command of the army of Northern Virginia by General Joseph E. Johnson being disabled at the first important battle fought before Richmond. Lee was then assigned to the command of the army until Johnson should be able to resume, and after the Seven Days' battle, resulting in the defeat of McClellan and raising the siege of Richmond, Lee's ability as a commander was pointedly exemplified by his prompt movement to strike General Pope before McClellan's army could be united with it. That campaign was one of the best conceived and most brilliant of all Lee's movements, resulting in the defeat of Pope at the second Bull Run, and forcing the two Union armies of McClellan and Pope finally into the intrenchments at Washington.

Then for the first time the question of Lee confining his efforts strictly to the defence of his State became a vital one, and he was compelled to choose between giving up the command of the Confederate army and suffering the execrations of his people, or leading it into Maryland. The movement into Maryland was not accepted as a wise strategic movement from a military standpoint, but it was dictated by the general belief in the South that the invasion of Maryland by Lee's army would arouse the people of that State to join the secession movement, and for that reason, and that only, Lee crossed the Potomac in 1862. He did

not enter Maryland to make war on the people of that State, but he hoped by that movement to give Maryland an opportunity to assert herself as a State of the Confederacy, believing that the people of Maryland desired to do so. In that Lee discovered that he was mistaken, and he fought the battle of Antietam because it was necessary to reunite his army after Jackson's movement to capture Harper's Ferry, to enable him to return to Virginia in safety. He occupied a strong position at Antietam, from which McClellan, with an army outnumbering Lee's by one-third, had failed to dislodge him. One of the bloodiest battles of the war was there fought, resulting in a desperate struggle from 6 o'clock in the morning until sunset, each army holding its position. Lee waited a day after the battle for McClellan to renew the attack, and finding that he could move with safety, he left his position during the night and crossed the Potomac into Virginia.

I never saw General Lee during the war or after the war, and I have always regretted that I did not avail myself of the many opportunities I had to visit him after the war in his modest home in the beautiful village of Lexington, which nestles in the mountains of Virginia. I saw him frequently in Washington before the war, but never had opportunity to have any extended conversation with him. He was a gentleman of most agreeable and genial manner, always dignified and courteous, and scrupulously avoided the appearance of ostentation. There have been many criticisms of some of his military movements and of his qualities as a military chieftain, but it may now be accepted that the name of Robert E. Lee is crystallized in the history of the country and of the world as one of the few great commanders of his century. His character may be summed up in a single sentence, defining him as an accomplished soldier and a Christian gentleman, for he filled every measure of both great attributes. Like all great commanders of this century, with probably the single exception of Napoleon, there were limitations upon his capabilities. Napoleon was equal to any condition of war, aggressive or defensive, or strategically defensive and tactically aggressive, but in that supreme quality he stands alone. All of the great commanders of that period were noted for their aggressive or for their defensive qualities. Grant was pre-eminently distinguished as an aggressive warrior; McClel-

lan was pre-eminently distinguished as a defensive warrior. Grant always fought when he should have fought, and sometimes when he should not have fought. McClellan gave the most sublime illustration of his great qualities as a defensive general in the Seven Days' battles, but he never assumed the aggressive in a single great action, excepting at Antietam, and then he should have fought one day earlier, when one-third of Lee's army was engaged at Harper's Ferry.

General Lee may be classed as among the great defensive generals of his time. He was never defeated in any of his many battles fought on the defensive until his army was disintegrated and weakened by death and desertion and lack of supplies, when Grant broke his lines at Petersburg and forced his retreat for the final climax at Appomattox. He was much the type of McClellan as a commander, differing only in his frequent unexpected attacks upon the Union forces. While strategically defensive he was always a dangerous soldier in his tactically aggressive movements. He will be accepted in history as not only the greatest of the Confederate commanders, but as the one military chieftain who could have filled the military necessities of the Confederacy.

In but one battle of the war were his limitations exhibited, and that was at Gettysburg. It was the first campaign in which he was compelled to be both strategically and tactically aggressive, and his great opportunity was lost the first day of the battle, when he failed to dislodge the shattered Union forces from Cemetery Hill and take possession of Round Top and Culp's Hill. That failure enabled the Union army to concentrate in the strongest defensive position to be found anywhere between Williamsport and Washington, on a short and almost impregnable line, while Lee's line of battle was thrice as long.

It has always been a surprise to those who closely studied the character of General Lee that he insisted upon Pickett's bloody and disastrous charge, even against the earnest protest of Longstreet. I do not assume to say what Lee should have done at Gettysburg after his failure to take possession practically of both positions on the evening of the first day. He has been severely criticised by some of his own Southern friends, especially by General Longstreet, by whom some personal resentment is clearly exhibited; but it is now an accepted historic fact

that the Gettysburg campaign was a blunder, and that the failure of Lee to take possession of the whole field on the first day led to the decisive battle of the war, in which the fate of the Confederacy was irrevocably sealed.

It is easy to criticise a commander after a battle has been fought and all the opportunities known to the critics, many of which were not known to the commanders at the time, and there was nothing in the Gettysburg campaign, disastrous as it was, that dimmed the lustre of Lee's greatness as a military chieftain, or that impaired in any degree the confidence of the Confederate Government and the Southern people. He was as much their idol when, with his defeated and broken legions, he recrossed into Virginia as he was when he marched with the greatest army the Confederacy ever knew to a defeat that was decisive of the fraternal conflict.

I assume that General Lee has never received full justice in regard to the Gettysburg campaign. If he had been permitted to exercise his own judgment, even with all the military and political consideration which seemed to favor it, the Gettysburg campaign would have been unknown in the conflict. In a conversation with Jefferson Davis some ten years after the war at his home, in Mississippi, he spoke very frankly on several questions relating to the war which were in dispute. I inquired of him why the Gettysburg campaign was determined upon; whether it was dictated by military or political considerations. His reply was somewhat evasive, but he said that it certainly would not have been undertaken if it had not been believed to be a wise military movement. I asked him whether it was General Lee's proposal, or whether he advised it. His answer was again evasive, as he said that it would not have been attempted without General Lee's assent.

I was led to believe by Davis' explanation that Lee did not approve of assuming the aggressive strategically, which might compel him to accept perilous aggressive tactical movements. He was naturally averse to going into the enemy's country, thereby weakening his lines to fight a superior force, but strong political necessities dictated it, and it was believed that the largest army the Confederacy ever had, with Lee as its commander, could again defeat the Army of the Potomac in an open-field engagement, and thereby strengthen the opposition

to the war in the North and reinspire the South to renewed vigor in support of the Confederacy. The Army of the Potomac had been defeated under Hooker but a few months before at Chancellorsville, and it was known to be greatly demoralized. General Meade succeeded to the command only three days before the battle of Gettysburg, and he well knew that his army lacked concentration and was discouraged by an unbroken line of defeats; but when that army was called to defend Northern soil from Confederate invasion its earnestness of purpose was exhibited not only by every officer, but by every soldier of its ranks. It was a more dangerous foe on the field of Gettysburg than ever it had been in Virginia, and, so far from strengthening the anti-war sentiment of the North, the Gettysburg invasion aroused the North to overwhelming efforts to prosecute the war until the rebellion was overthrown.

Lee thus marched to and fought at Gettysburg, and was finally compelled to choose between retreat or the fatal charge he ordered to be made by Pickett. His superior military judgment and experience may be accepted against the advice of Longstreet, that Lee should move around the left flank of the Union army and force it to abandon its strong position. It is just such a movement as Lee would have made had he believed it possible to accomplish it, for in all the many trials during the civil war he was equal to every emergency when opportunity offered for a movement to his own advantage. What he did at Gettysburg on the 3d of July may be regarded as the wisest action that could be taken, and his error on the first day was doubtless dictated by the apprehension that the full force of the Union army was within easy reach of Cemetery Hill, while Longstreet had not yet reached Gettysburg.

Considering the military conditions and necessities which environed Lee, no commander of his century accomplished more with the same resources, and the single criticism of his military career relates to Gettysburg, a campaign that was conceived and executed against his military policy. Of all the defensive generals of modern times he was the greatest and the most dangerous. While on the defensive the Union army was never safe from an unexpected and terrible blow, and every campaign that he planned, and every battle that he fought from his own

standpoint, must stand in history as faultless in conception and execution.

The most heroic military movement of the war was his separation of his army when confronted by Hooker at Chancellorsville, by sending Jackson to turn the right wing of the Union army, which was up in the air, resulting in the disgraceful defeat of an army that doubled the numbers of the Confederates; and his attacks upon Grant in the wilderness would have made him victor of the campaign but for Grant's ability to fill the places of his dead and wounded. It is an impressive commentary upon the generalship of the two great commanders of that conflict that Grant lost more men in killed and wounded and missing between the Rapidan and the James than Lee had to oppose him.

General Lee was one of the gentlest of men. He was the one eminent Southern man during our civil war who uniformly taught, alike by precept and example, as Lincoln taught in the North, "with malice toward none; with charity for all." Lee, like Lincoln, never uttered a single sentence of resentment against the opposing section. When he was finally brought to the surrender at Appomattox he appeared before Grant in his best uniform, with his finest sword at his side, ready to perform his last sad duty for his cause with all the dignity of a soldier and a gentleman. Grant was in fatigue uniform and without his sword, which at once indicated to Lee that the delivery of his sword was not expected. The surrender accomplished, he asked for rations for his few famished troops, to which a prompt and generous response was given, and the Confederate chieftain who had fought for his cause until his army was practically annihilated quietly retired to his home in Richmond, where he refused the gift of a house and lived in the quietest retirement.

Soon thereafter he accepted the presidency of the Washington and Lee University, at Lexington, where he spent the remaining few years of his life in tireless devotion to his new duties, and where he was worshiped by the entire community. Fifteen years after his death I was the guest of his son, General Custis Lee, who had succeeded his father to the presidency of the University, and stood in front of the recumbent statue over the grave of Lee in the college hall, while delivering the commencement address. His room in the college building remained

then, and still remains, precisely as General Lee left it, including his easy shoes in the corner, and little scraps of paper in and about his desk on which he at times would record a thought. He was only twice outside of his State after the war, once when he was summoned to Washington to be examined before the committee on the conduct of the war. He came in the quietest manner, avoided all publicity as far as possible, and left for his mountain home as soon as his mission was ended. He was a prisoner on parole until his death and could not leave his State without permission from the war department. He continued to perform his duties as president of the University until the fall of 1870, when he was stricken with paralysis, and after lingering several days in an unconscious condition he died on the 12th of October.

The South had many heroes who called out the deepest affections of the Southern people, but no one was so universally beloved as Robert E. Lee, and his memory will ever be cherished by them as that of the ideal hero and gentleman. The passions of civil war are now almost entirely effaced, and I sincerely hope that before another decade shall have passed there will be erected on Seminary Hill, by the joint appropriations of the States of Virginia and Pennsylvania, an equestrian statue of Lee corresponding with the statue of Meade on Cemetery Hill.

## THOMAS H. BENTON, THE LEADER IN WESTERN PROGRESS.

Few of the present age have anything approaching a just appreciation of the great service rendered the country by Thomas Hart Benton, of Missouri. He was the first Senator to serve for 30 consecutive years in the highest legislative tribunal of the nation, and one of only two who have reached that distinction in the history of the Republic. Senator Morrill, of Vermont, died during the first session of his sixth consecutive term. John Sherman served more than 30 years, but not continuously, and Senator Anthony, of Rhode Island, was elected to his sixth consecutive term, but died before entering upon it. When Benton retired from the Senate, in 1851, he was the only Senator who at that time had served continuously in the body for two-thirds of the same period, and he gave to the country a most valuable political history of his active life in his two large volumes entitled "Thirty Years in the United States Senate."

The matchless progress of this country during the last half century seems to have been so logical and inevitable that few inquire into the movements of the public men who half a century ago tirelessly labored for the advancement that we now enjoy. Benton became active in public affairs soon after the acquisition of Louisiana, in 1803, although quite a young man, and settled in Missouri in 1815. After having been admitted to the Bar and serving with distinguished credit in the army as lieutenant colonel, he established a newspaper in Missouri Territory, called the *Missouri Inquirer*; and from that time until his death he was the foremost man of all our great statesmen in hastening the development of the West. He was a tireless student, and was one of the few men in our national Congress during the whole period of his service who justly appreciated the future importance of reaching the Pacific and the mouth of the Columbia, and he was the first to propose postal highways across the



mountains and plains of the Far West, and certainly the first of all our public men to advocate a transcontinental railway.

In 1820, when Missouri was admitted into the Union by the adoption of the memorable Missouri Compromise, he had become a national factor in politics, not only by his great ability and intimate acquaintance with public men, but by the influence of his newspaper, which discussed the interests of Missouri and of the West with a degree of intelligence and hopefulness that greatly impressed the political powers at Washington. It was to Benton more than to any other dozen men that the country was indebted for the Missouri Compromise, which quieted slavery agitation when the country seemed to be on the very verge of civil war; and so highly were his efforts appreciated by the people of Missouri that when the first Legislature of the State met he was chosen one of the United States Senators, and was continued as a Senator for the then unexampled period of 30 years. Benton, like Jackson, was the outgrowth of a civilization that has long since perished. He was born in North Carolina on the 14th of March, 1782, and was fortunate in having unusual educational advantages for that day during his early boyhood. Before he had reached full manhood his widowed mother located in a wilderness some 25 miles from Nashville, where her husband had owned a large unimproved estate. They were practically outside the pale of civilization, but the family reared their home and opened their fields in the forest. Thomas, the oldest son, devoted his spare hours to study, and was admitted to the Bar in Nashville in 1811.

The civilization of the Southwest at that period did not have its counterpart in any other section of the country. "Hardness ever of hardness is mother," and the rugged men who grew up in the wilderness were restless and aggressive, and the horse race, the cock fight, the duels, street fights and cards were the chief amusements in which they indulged with great freedom. It was not uncommon in those days to see Jackson and the Bentons and their rollicking associates take their fighting cocks into the ring under their arms, and on one occasion Jackson and Benton had a street fight in Nashville, started by Jackson striking Benton in the face with a horse whip. A general melee followed, as was usual in such cases, and Jackson received a pistol ball in his left shoulder, which was not extracted until

near the close of his Presidential term, and Jesse Benton, a brother of Thomas, received several severe thrusts from a sword cane. Jackson and Benton had been devoted friends, and Benton had served as aid to Jackson in the army in several successful Indian campaigns. Jackson accepted the position of second to General Carroll when he fought a duel against Jesse Benton, and that broke up the strong friendship existing between Jackson and Benton. Their estrangement was very bitter, and probably would have resulted in a fatal encounter at one time or another had Benton not soon thereafter removed to St. Louis. Their friendly relations were later re-established when both became members of the United States Senate.

Benton differed from Jackson in the fact that he was a careful student, with better educational advantages. He was the first of our prominent men to appreciate the wonderful possibilities of the Far West. When he located in St. Louis it was a little French village with only alley streets and a population of the most primitive character. The Missouri Territory then embraced all of the Louisiana purchase excepting Louisiana, which had been organized as a Territory soon after the purchase from Napoleon, with Captain Lewis, one of the first explorers of the Rocky Mountains, as Territorial Governor, and his associate, Lieutenant Clarke, who was made Governor of Missouri when that Territory was organized. The geographical magnitude of the Missouri Territory may be understood when it is stated that it embraced what are now the States of Missouri, Kansas, Nebraska, Iowa, Minnesota, North and South Dakota, Montana, Wyoming, and Colorado, with the whole Northwestern region practically an unexplored country. The only reliable information to be had about it came from the report of Lewis and Clarke, and they could furnish little intelligence as to the value of the acquisition beyond the sources of its chief rivers, with the beautiful valleys and bewildering mountains which surround them.

From the time that Benton located in St. Louis he became the chief source of information as to the resources and future prospects of this comparatively unknown country. He was an enthusiast in estimating its future greatness, and was one of the earliest and most efficient supporters of the Mexican war for the purpose of extending our territory to the Pacific. He was then

the leader without rival among the rude and sparse population of Missouri, for even St. Louis was at that time the very outer verge of civilization. He was the one leading Democrat who had not assented to the Democratic platform of 1844, which assumed to settle the dispute as to our boundary line for the British possessions by demanding to extend our line northward to 54 degrees 40 minutes. The slogan of the Democrats in that campaign was "54-40, or fight;" but after Polk had been elected and the boundary question assumed serious proportions, Benton had the courage to advise the Administration that the present line should be accepted, because our claim could not be maintained beyond it. It was his admitted superior knowledge of that country and its boundaries, and his careful study of everything pertaining to it, that made him potential in forcing the acceptance of the present boundary, beyond which England would not have acceded.

Benton came to Washington as a Senator five years after he had located in St. Louis, where he had been absolutely supreme in his political mastery. He was able, aggressive, and there was none to dispute his sway. With the rude and variegated population that he had made subject to his control, it was doubtless necessary to dominate with a degree of arrogance that was not accepted under different conditions, and Benton insensibly early acquired an imperial habit that greatly weakened him throughout his whole career. While a refined and courteous gentleman, he had the highest measure of confidence in himself, was proud of his imposing presence and his superior intelligence, and even in his best days in the Senate he was pardoned by his best friends for the egotism that jarred his great intellectual force. He had studied and completely mastered the Spanish language to enable him to understand the many complications which arose from Spanish grants in our new acquisitions, and he was ceaseless in his efforts for the advancement of what was then regarded as an immense region that never could be of practical value to the Government or people. The Rocky Mountains were considered an insuperable barrier to intercourse between the Atlantic and Pacific, and where now we see fruitful fields west of the Mississippi was then given on the school maps as the great American desert. He would have startled the country and the world sixty years ago when he de-

clared that the way to India was not across the Atlantic but across the Pacific, had his declaration not been regarded as that of a blind and unreasoning enthusiast. His declaration was: "There is the East, and there is India;" and the sentence that was then jeered as the utterance of a dreamer is now the single inscription on the beautiful bronze statue of Benton in Lafayette Park, St. Louis. He was the enthusiastic supporter of Jackson's Administration, and was the first of our leading statesmen of that day to insist that the currency of the country should be on a silver and gold basis. So earnest was he in the advocacy of this policy that he was known the last twenty years of his life as "Old Bullion."

During Benton's entire public career he was regarded as pre-eminently the representative of the pioneer interests of the West. He was the first to demand preëemptive right to actual settlers and the donation of homesteads to impoverished but industrious people. He was always far in advance of the Government in recognizing its obligations to the people, who have more than fulfilled Benton's grandest dreams of advancement by rearing a galaxy of States in the territory that he took under his special protection when he first became a national lawmaker. When he first proposed postal routes to reach our Far Western possessions he was ridiculed by the conservative statesmanship of the East, but when he had suffered defeat after defeat he finally won. I well remember when he first proposed the Pacific Railway as a national necessity. He was then advanced in years, and it was not uncommon to hear intelligent Senators and Representatives of the East refer to the Pacific Railroad dream of Benton as the project of "the old man gone in his head." He not only advocated a transcontinental railway, and insisted that its construction was an inevitable and imperious duty sooner or later, but he was the one man who knew where the Pacific railroad should be located. In one of his many speeches on the subject he declared that he had no faith in the views of the engineers who had been sent across the mountains at different points to report upon the possibility of constructing highways. He said that the only engineer who did not lie was the buffalo, and the buffalo proved that the better climate was northward by coming south to graze in the summer and returning northward to winter.

In this he was clearly right, although his views were generally rejected at that time, and when finally a Pacific railroad was forced upon the Government during the civil war, to prevent the erection of an independent empire on the Pacific coast, the worst of three routes was accepted—by Bridger Pass to Salt Lake and thence westward across the Sierra Nevadas, making the great line traverse a thousand miles on which there has never been a green field and where the snows of the Sierras make railroading possible in winter only by scores of miles of snow sheds, while the Northern Pacific line is traversed winter and summer and is hundreds of miles nearer to the commerce of the East. Many men have performed individual feats of heroism in aiding to create the unbroken line of Commonwealths that now spans the continent from the Father of Waters to the golden shores of the Pacific, but no one man has accomplished a tithe of the great achievements of Thomas Hart Benton in educating the Government to appreciate its great Western possessions, and in forcing the early advancement that has made that whole region develop into fruitfulness and plenty.

When the question of acquiring new territory in Mexico was to be considered the one man who understood it in all its details was Senator Benton. He understood the language in which the records of our new acquisitions were written. He studied the laws thoroughly, understood the character of the people, and appreciated the boundless wealth they would give to the nation. He was impatient and always impetuous in the promotion of his advanced ideas, and it was his earnest demand that forced a new army into the Mexican war under the command of Scott, to make a rapid march to the Mexican capital. He had had military experience, having served in the regular army as lieutenant colonel when quite a young man, and with his high appreciation of himself, for which he was ever conspicuous, he believed that he understood the situation better than any or all the generals of the army or the statesmen of the nation. It was his own proposition that he should be made Lieutenant General and sent to Mexico in command of both the armies of Scott and Taylor, with the purpose of intrusting him with the important duty of finally making a treaty of peace and determining the new territorial acquisitions. This ambition of Benton's was resented by many of his fellow Senators, and

the proposition finally had to be abandoned; but when the time came for a treaty of peace the views of Benton were adopted generally in the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo.

The only President with whom Benton maintained uninterrupted intimate relations during his service in the Senate was Jackson. Benton was hot-headed and impulsive, and rarely harmonized with the other Presidents of his party, but his devotion to Jackson was romantic. As I have already stated, they had long been bitter enemies, but when they became reconciled he was the champion of Jackson under all circumstances. He achieved a great triumph over Clay, Webster and Calhoun by the success of his noted expunging resolution in the Senate. After the removal of the deposits from the United States Bank by Jackson, Clay introduced a resolution of censure, declaring that Jackson had "assumed authority and power not conferred by the Constitution and laws, but in derogation of both." Jackson sent a formal protest to the Senate, but the Senate refused to receive it, and the resolution of censure was adopted and spread upon the records of the body. Benton vehemently opposed it at every stage, and after its adoption proposed to expunge it in every Congress; but he was defeated in his efforts until, on the 16th of January, 1837, a short time before Jackson's retirement, he succeeded in having the resolution expunged. He also was a leader in the movement to give Jackson a late vindication for the fine imposed upon him by the Civil Courts of New Orleans after he had declared martial law there to enable him to defend the city. Jackson had been fined \$1,000, and before he retired from the Presidency the fine was repaid by the Government.

I saw much of Senator Benton during the last ten years of his life without having any intimate acquaintance with him. He was to be seen often on the streets of Washington on pleasant afternoons riding his magnificent black charger, and he rode with the dignity of a Caesar. He was a man of handsome form and feature, and was proud of it, and he evidently enjoyed the homage he received by the attention given him when he was on dress parade. I never had an opportunity to see anything of the inner man but once, and that was when he was in feeble health. I happened to be with him when James B. Clay, a son of Henry Clay, was about to be involved in a duel. Benton had

fought a duel in early life and killed his opponent, but he never fully forgave himself for having the blood of a fellow upon his skirts. He personally destroyed all records of the duel he had fought, although it was not questioned that he was justified according to the code accepted at that time, and it was well known that he would neither challenge nor accept a challenge during his long service in Washington. Although Clay had been one of his most earnest political opponents he took an active interest in adjusting the dispute, and preventing the son of his old competitor from appearing on the field of honor. He spoke with great earnestness on the subject, and it was pathetic to hear the grand old man, then on the verge of the grave, admonish the younger men about him against being misled to murder by false conceptions of honor. He was then suffering from a fatal malady, and he found relief from the constant pain he suffered only in his literary work. After completing his "Thirty Years in the Senate," which was very largely a record of himself, he abridged the Congressional debates and finished it just before his death. His last work done on it was dictated in whispers to an amanuensis, and when he finally completed it he knew that the end was near, and he notified friends in Congress that he must soon pass away from them, and requested that Congress should not take any notice of his death; but that request was not respected, as when his death was announced both houses at once adjourned.

Benton, like all great political leaders who are in public life for more than a generation, suffered some humiliating discomfitures in his later days. His breach with Calhoun on the slavery question led to an organized opposition to him in Missouri within his own political household, and when he came up for re-election to his sixth term in the Senate he was amazed to find himself confronted by a combination too formidable for him to overcome. The Democrats had a majority in the Legislature, but so intense was the bitterness of the anti-Benton Democrats against him that they voted directly for a Whig to accomplish his defeat, presenting the unusual spectacle of a Legislature with a decided Democratic majority electing an active and pronounced Whig to the United States Senate for a term of six years. He had entered into the contest with great vigor, and his speeches made in defense of himself are perhaps

the most pungent ever delivered by a candidate of national fame. His wit ripened with his age, and he loved nothing so much as an opportunity to pour out the most delectable tide of mingled wit and invective, but he only intensified the opposition, and made it implacable even to the extent of going into the camp of the common enemy to accomplish his defeat.

Benton could not believe it possible that he had lost his omnipotence in the State of Missouri, and when defeated for the Senate he immediately announced himself as a candidate for the popular branch of Congress, and was the Benton Democratic candidate in 1852. He was elected by a majority of about 1,000, although the anti-Benton Democratic candidate received 2,500 votes. When he entered the House he at once became the political storm centre of the body. He felt that he was vindicated, and he was impetuous to a degree that wounded friends and gratified only his foes. He boasted of his ability not only to return to the House, but to return to the Senate when a vacancy happened; but his work was done, his career was ended, and the people had learned to obey the voice of new masters. When he ran for re-election to the House in 1854 he was defeated by 1,000 majority, but the old warrior could not confess that he was conquered. Although the prey of exhausting disease, and greatly weakened by the infirmities of age and continued suffering, he announced his purpose to be a candidate for Governor of Missouri at the next election. There was then no Whig party in Missouri, as it had been absorbed in the American organization. The Democrats nominated Governor Polk, the Americans nominated Mr. Ewing and Benton announced himself as an independent candidate, believing that he would sweep the State and regain his political omnipotence; but although he received a majority of some 1,600 in the city of St. Louis, the total vote of the State was: 46,245 for Polk, 41,076 for Ewing and 27,576 for Benton. Broken in heart and hope by this final and decisive defeat, he rapidly declined in health and diverted himself from his misfortunes by his literary labors, until finally, on the 10th of April, 1858, the great champion of the pioneers of the West and the man who was leader of leaders in the wonderful progress of the Republic toward the setting sun, passed into the dreamless sleep of the dead.



## WESTERN RAILWAYS AND ROCKY COACHES A GENERATION AGO.

The progress in transcontinental travel during the present generation makes romance pale before it. Today the tourist can enter a palace car in Philadelphia or New York, enjoy every comfort of home day and night, and land at the Golden Gate on the Pacific in five days. Every possible comfort is given to the traveler. Luxurious seats and sofas, and meals and beds, can be had with nearly as much comfort as in a first-class hotel. The railways are in perfect condition, with superb equipment, the severe curves and heavy grades on the mountains are mastered by the immense iron horse, and a rate of speed is maintained day and night that a generation ago was not thought of on the best equipped lines of that day. Not only are there several great trunk lines traversing the entire continent, but the rude shriek of the locomotive is heard in almost every valley and on nearly every hilltop in the great mountain regions of the far West.

Only a generation ago the same journey required nearly a month when most successfully performed in the somewhat pretentious coaches of that period, which were compelled to run the gauntlet of savage tribes as they traversed the trackless plains and climbed the confusing cliffs of the great mountains, with an even chance to meet the deadly road agent if the coach was laden with precious metals from the mines; and half a century ago the journey to the Pacific could be made only by bullwhacking the ox teams across the plains and mountains, requiring a full season from spring to fall for the most fortunate to reach their destination. The only other route to the Pacific at that day was around Cape Horn, a most perilous journey in the indifferent vessels then employed, and requiring months to accomplish it.

The greatest civilizer of this continent has been the locomotive. The Indian was the master of his famed hunting grounds

in the mountains and on the plains of the West until he heard the weird song of the iron horse. The son of the forest well understood its meaning. It told him of a strange civilization that was master wherever its tread was heard, and bade him recede in terms that were inexorable. I was within a few miles of the location of the present city of Cheyenne in the spring of 1867, when there was not a habitation in sight at that place, and the Indians raided the Pacific Railway engineers at or near that point, murdering a number of them; and only eight months later I arrived by the mountain coach at the new city of Cheyenne, that then had a population of over 5,000 people, and was the fastest of all the fast Western towns I met in making a coach journey of three thousand miles on the plains and mountains.

I saw Brigham Young when the Pacific Railway had reached only to a point some 300 miles west of Omaha, and the one thing that disturbed him was the advent of the locomotive. I spent a month in his beautiful city nestling in the valley hard by the shadows of the snow-capped mountains, with its silver rivulets traversing each side of its broad streets, and fruits and vines and flowers beautifying every Mormon home. He was as absolute a ruler in Utah as the Czar in Russia. He had successfully defied the authority of our Government in war and peace; but the day that the iron horse first sang his song in the valley of Utah dated the decline and fall of the Mormon ruler. Missionaries have preached to the pioneers, ministered to them in sickness, and buried them when life's fitful fever ended, but, important as is their work, the great factors in Western civilization were the rugged miners and husbandmen with their unerring rifles, and the railway that followed them.

On the 3d of May, 1867, I left Chicago at 8.15 in the morning for Omaha over the Chicago & Northwestern Railroad, now one of the most completely equipped lines on the continent. The rapid construction of the Union Pacific from Omaha westward compelled the hasty extension of the Chicago & Northwestern to Omaha in 1866, by throwing up a few feet of embankment on the usually level plains of Western Iowa and laying the superstructure without ballast. During the winter the road was passable, but when the spring thaws and floods came the superstructure was played with by the elements in the most

fantastic fashion. The speed never exceeded ten miles an hour, and was often as low as six. The thirty-odd passengers received their last meal at Dennison, 24 hours from Chicago, and did not have an opportunity to obtain a meal during the remainder of the journey, lasting 36 hours. When within 50 miles of Council Bluffs we were halted by a wreck, eight miles from the nearest station, and 50 miles from the nearest point where machinery could be had to clear the track. We were thus detained for ten hours in cold cars and without provisions. At last the train was started and proceeded to the village of Honeybrook, 30 miles distant, when another wreck called a halt of several hours. Fortunately there were a few shanties, peopled by Irish laborers, and the passengers were enabled to obtain some boiled eggs and bacon, which their ravenous appetites warmly welcomed. Finally the train arrived within a few miles of Council Bluffs at 10 o'clock at night, and the train was left on the track because of the flooded and broken condition of the road. It was not until 11 o'clock the next morning that the passengers, without breakfast, were driven four miles to the boat that carried them across the Missouri to Omaha after a journey of two days and a half. Now the same route is traversed with all the comforts of home at the rate of 50 miles an hour, and all the conveniences to the passengers of a first-class hotel.

Omaha was a revelation to me. It was the first genuine Western city I had struck. It presented an unsightly appearance, with its rambling lines of houses, and here and there a three or four-story permanent building, with every conceivable size and style of shanties sandwiched between them. It was my first introduction to the progressive Western character. It had more carriages; sold more goods and at higher prices; dealt out town lots by the foot at greater valuations; had more hotels, better patronized, dirtier and dearer; built more houses in a day and rented them for more money; played poker and keno at a higher limit, and raced horses oftener and for higher stakes, than any other city of the same population that I had ever heard of.

The Union Pacific Railroad was then completed to North Platte, a distance of 295 miles. The journey from Omaha to that point was without special interest. Buffalo herds were often visible, and for nearly 100 miles not a sign of habitation

was seen beyond the little shanties needed for railroad purposes. The pretty and curious antelope often came up within gunshot of the train, and the prairie dog, with his inseparable companion, the owl, gave us welcome.

At North Platte I first made the acquaintance of the mountain stage coach for a journey of 290 miles to Denver. The Indian question had become somewhat serious, as they were raiding stage lines periodically, but we did not come into uncomfortably close quarters with them until we reached Julesburg, where Fort Sedgwick had nearly 1,000 troops, under the command of Colonel Dodge. We arrived there a little after sunrise and learned that 75 cavalymen had just been driven in along our route westward by the Indians, and that the telegraph lines were cut. I called upon Colonel Dodge to consider the situation, and he insisted that the coach must not go out without a large military escort. I had learned that the men of the clearest judgment and safest in council were the stage drivers. They were a remarkable class. They never touched a horse except to drive, and continued to drive from fifty to sixty miles, devoting their attention exclusively to the passengers, mails and treasure in their charge, while others cared for the horses. They were paid high wages, and chosen entirely because of their intelligence, courage and discretion. I first sought the advice of "Long John," our driver, with whom I had ridden in the boot for several hours in the morning. I told him the situation as reported by Colonel Dodge, and said that we could have any number of troops to escort us if deemed prudent for us to go. I have never forgotten the curl of disgust that spread over "Long John's" face as he answered: "An escort? Hell! we have trouble enough to take care of ourselves." When I asked his meaning he answered very coolly: "The Indians are there, but they don't want our bandboxes nor trunks; they want our horses. We have nine well-armed men to protect six horses, but with fifty or a hundred cavalymen and a horse to every chump, the Indians would attack the cavalymen for the horses and involve us in danger. If you will go with me and obey my directions I will take you safely through."

There were two ladies in the party, and after a consultation they decided that "Long John's" advice should be accepted, and we started out on the same route over which 75 cavalymen

had been driven in by the Indians only a few hours before. The Indians were secreted in O'Fallon's Bluffs, and at one point the bluffs were so close to the river that we were compelled to come within rifle range, but "Long John" understood the Indian, and he disposed of his nine men on the top of the coach, in the boot and inside, with their rifles pointing to the Bluffs, with instructions not to fire unless an Indian head was uncovered. We thus passed for nearly half a mile within range of the Indians without seeing them, and the danger was over. When some miles beyond on a hill that gave us a view of the rear of the Bluffs we saw a large body of Indians that we had passed within range of their guns. We heard a very interesting story of Indian raids while we tarried an hour to sup with Holland Godfrey, better known as "Old Wicked," the only ranchman who had saved his home from the torch and rifle of the savage as they swept the Platte in 1866. The Rocky Mountains finally came in view as their snow-clad tops appeared. Gradually their huge cliffs loomed up, and as Denver was approached the immense peaks presented themselves in all their imperial grandeur.

Denver was then a mere mining camp, with a fitful population of some four or five thousand. The most pretentious building was the Pacific Hotel, a simple frame structure with only board partitions and guiltless of plaster. Everybody seemed happy and hopeful of gathering millions, as the mountains were known to be studded with precious metals, but the obstinate gold and silver ores defied reduction by ordinary process, and many elegantly constructed mills, with the finest machinery, were abandoned because of the difficulty in mastering the ores. I remember dining in a little cottage on the outskirts of the city, with Land Officer Pearce, to meet Mr. Hill, who had just arrived there, prepared, as he believed, to master the obstinate ores by a new process. Few had faith in him at the time, but he attained great success, became a multi-millionaire and a United States Senator.

I expected to remain two or three days in Denver, and then proceed westward to the land of the Mormons, but the Indian troubles increased in both front and rear, and I was compelled to wait three weeks, much in the position, as to the Indians, as was Hooker's bull, fast on the fence, unable to either hook in front or kick behind. After waiting until the 3d of June our

party of seven, including Mrs. McClure, started westward to try our fortunes with the dusky sons of the forest. We were fortunate in having Mr. Perry, of Missouri, an old mountaineer of ripe experience, who was as intelligent and brave as he was unassuming.

We reached Virginia Dale, nearly 100 miles westward, without incident, where we received the disturbing information that the Indians had just captured a mule team near that place, and that the Black Hills, beyond our route, had many Indians on the war path. But we passed the Black Hills in safety, every precaution being taken by sending out skirmish lines at any dangerous pass or bluff, and finally reached Cooper's Creek to learn that the coach horses had just been captured by the Indians after scalping one of the herders, and after giving our team a rest until 11 o'clock next day we started with an escort for the North Platte, a distance of 60 miles. The escort was changed at each station. The guards at Rock Creek, Medicine Bow and Wagon Hound stations had all been unsuccessfully attacked by Indians, and at Elk Mountain (Old Fort Hallock) we were informed that the Indians were encamped a few miles from the bluff in strong force, and had stolen the horses there the evening before.

This was regarded as the most perilous condition we had confronted, but our driver was equal to the occasion. He said little, but whistled merrily as he carefully examined his rifle and pistols, and when about to take the lines he notified us that an attack was probable, but added with emphasis: "Never scar'; never scar'; they're lightnin' when you scar'." He whirled the silken cracker of his lash, making it resound through the bleak and forbidding cliffs around us, and started the team at a gallop. Whether the road was rough or smooth the speed was never slackened, and at times the whole seven passengers were bunched in a pile in front of the coach and at other times in the rear. We finally reached the North Platte about 3 in the morning, where we supposed our Indian troubles were ended, but our relief was brief, as the first information we received was that the Indians were raiding the road for 50 miles westward, and that travel was suspended. All the good horses had been stolen by the Indians, and 10 passengers had accumulated at the stations, anxious to go West. Hunting was impossible

because of the proximity of the Indians, and a movement was necessary, as the station people were without food.

Two mud wagons were rigged up, four broken-down horses attached to each, and we started on a bright morning, the 7th of June, to cross the summit of Bridger's Pass. Sage Creek was the first station, and it had not been disturbed, although the horses had been stolen. As we came near to Pine Grove, the second station, we found it in ruins and still burning. It was surrounded by thickets, and we had to skirmish them before driving up to the station. Soon after we stopped to lunch and feed our jaded horses, and by the time we were ready to start again a blinding snow storm was upon us. We could not protect ourselves from the storm, as every man had to keep his rifle in hand and a sharp lookout for the Indians. We hoped to find relief at Bridger's Pass, but when we came in sight of it we found it in flames. When we arrived at the station there were fresh tracks of the Indian ponies in the snow. While warming ourselves at the fire the critical situation was carefully discussed. It was some twelve miles distant to Sulphur Springs, beyond which the Indians were not likely to be troublesome, our teams were exhausted, and the pitiless snow storm made it impossible for any one to see forty rods in any direction. Fortunately, we could track the Indians, who had gone toward Sulphur Springs, and we were compelled to follow them. Big Dick was our master driver, and he was entirely equal to the occasion. He said that we would overtake the Indians, as they traveled very slowly when not pursued, and notified us when we started not to worry about the redskins, as he would know when we were close to them by the freshness of their tracks. After going some five miles Dick pulled up and said: "Fresh tracks, boys; lots of 'em. They're not half a mile ahead of us." A dozen men sprang out of the wagons with their rifles, but the serious question was what to do with the lady of the party. Mr. Perry, the grizzled mountaineer, was with us, and, like all of his class, as gentle as a mother with woman or child. He emptied out the mail bags, made a good bed of the robes and blankets, and when ready to put her into the wagon he asked whether she had arms. She had an elegant brace of pistols and was a good shot. He examined them carefully, handed them back to her and in a gentle but tremulous voice said: "Madam, if we are killed or captured you will take your own life." To

which she answered, "I understand." She was then covered up, mail bags thrown over her, and the men started in advance of the teams.

In less than an hour we came upon them in their camp as we emerged from a canyon that brought us within short rifle range before we could see them. The moment they saw or heard us their lights went out, they mounted their ponies and started eastward down a little stream, while our course was westward. Some of the party raised their rifles the moment they saw the Indians, but Dick yelled: "No shootin', boys; no shootin'. We haven't lost any Injuns." He was promptly obeyed, and after leaving an entirely worn-out horse by the wayside, we finally reached Sulphur Springs late at night, where 30 passengers were coraled by the interruption of the stage line, and but one woman in the entire party. The Indians were in the bluffs close to the station, but there was no danger of them attacking 30 armed men in a station house that had all the qualities of an improvised fort. Water was obtained from a spring near the bluffs and close to the station house, and when any went for water the guard covered the bluffs with their rifles. As hunting was impossible, another movement was necessary, and two stages were started out westward the next day. When we reached the top of the bluff a few miles west of the station, a number of Indians were visible and all of them mounted, but we had passed them in safety, and we soon breathed freely as we struck an open wide plain extending 15 miles and our Indian troubles were ended.

Having escaped from the savages, we had a delightful Sunday at Fort Bridger, where Judge Carter welcomed us with generous hospitality. After a refreshing meal and a few hours' rest we renewed our journey, and at midnight crossed the Quaking Asp summit, 9,000 feet above the sea and the greatest altitude attained crossing the continent. I shall never forget the delightful drive we had down Echo Canyon, a narrow valley of nearly twenty miles, where every sound is distinctly echoed. It was Hank Connors' drive, the most noted of the stage whips of the mountains, but he had been thrown off his regular beat by the general disturbance of the system. The horses were superb and obedient to the word as we whirled down the beautiful canyon at the rate of twelve miles an hour, and finally landed at Weber Station, where we had our first introduction to the



Mormons. We started to climb the Wahsatch Range before midnight, and when near its summit had a jolly upset in six feet of drifted snow, but we were soon righted again, and after a delightful moonlight drive through Parley Canyon we arrived at Salt Lake City and breakfasted on a profusion of excellent strawberries.

It required eight days and nights to enable us to reach Salt Lake City from Denver, constantly threatened by the savages during half the journey, and exposed to every possible discomfort, with insufficient food much of the time. Such were the experiences of those who crossed the Rocky Mountains only a generation ago; and as I recently crossed the same mountains clear to the Pacific, with almost every comfort enjoyed in my own home, I was well prepared to appreciate the wonderful progress that has been made in the civilization of the West. I spent eight months in the mountains, enjoying excellent health, and greatly enjoyed the generous hospitality and sublime manhood of the Western pioneers. The Vigilantes practically then ruled in Colorado, Idaho and Montana. The Courts performed their duties, but the man charged with murder, burglary, highway robbery or stock stealing who was permitted to go into the hands of the civil authorities was certain of acquittal. If guilty, the Vigilantes ended his career before the jurisdiction of the civil Courts attached. All knew that the Vigilantes administered justice with the strictest impartiality, and their supremacy was then a necessity to maintain order and to protect person and property. It is safe to say that in no single instance did the Vigilantes of the Western Territories execute an innocent person, and that is a record that could not be claimed by our most enlightened tribunals of the East. During my stay I crossed the Rocky Mountains six times from base to base over four different passes, and when finally it became necessary for me to return to my home in the East, I parted from the brave pioneers of the West with profound regrets, and have ever cherished for them the most affectionate memories. I then saw a civilization that has now perished on our continent, and one that has never been accorded a full measure of justice for its great work in rearing the galaxy of Commonwealths which now span the western part of our green land from the Father of Waters to the golden slopes of the Pacific.

## HENRY WILSON, NATICK COBBLER AND VICE PRESIDENT.

If I were asked by the young men of today whose record I would select from the most illustrious records written during the last half century that they could study most profitably at this time I would name that of Henry Wilson, of Massachusetts, who rounded out a long public career on which there was not the semblance of blemish, and died when Vice-President in the Vice-President's room in the Capitol. He was born in Farmington, New Hampshire, on the 16th of February, 1812, with a parentage so obscure that I have never seen it noted in detail in any of the many biographies which have been written of him. The name of his parents was Colbath, and he was christened as Jeremiah Jones Colbath, but when he attained his majority he had his name changed by the Massachusetts Legislature to that of Henry Wilson. His educational advantages were extremely limited, but he was a tireless student. He once told me that he had read over one thousand volumes that he had begged or borrowed while he was working for a farmer to whom he had been apprenticed to serve until he was 21 years of age, when he started out on foot in search of work and to make a career for himself. He landed at Natick, Massachusetts, and found employment with a shoemaker, whose trade he acquired. By severe economy he earned enough money to gain an academic course.

After a brief academic career he was compelled to abandon his studies and resume his trade as a shoemaker. In 1840 he came to the front and delivered a number of speeches in support of Harrison. He was then billed on the notices of the meeting as the "Natick cobbler." He was one of a large class of stump orators in that campaign who came up from close to mother earth, as did the Buckeye blacksmith and many others. It was a campaign in which the people led the leaders, and offered an inviting field for men who had the qualifications

to take the platform from the ranks of the people and discuss the political questions of the day. Of all that class of 1840 campaigners Henry Wilson was much the most polished and forceful. He brought none of the swagger of the shop to embellish his arguments, but was always a refined, intelligent and dignified Christian gentleman, and he rapidly won the affections of the masses. He shared the triumph of Harrison in an humble degree, being elected to the popular branch of the Massachusetts Legislature, where he served two terms, and later was thrice elected to the State Senate.

I first saw Henry Wilson in the Philadelphia Whig National Convention of 1848. He was earnest and uncompromising in his anti-slavery convictions, and was one of a number of delegates in that convention who dissented from the action of the body in rejecting an anti-slavery resolution. He was then just in the prime of life, and when he rose to protest against the action of the convention he was listened to as one whose position and ability merited the respect of every member of the body. His speech was earnest and somewhat impassioned. It was delivered in faultless style, and certainly made a profound impression upon his associates. When he closed his address he announced his purpose to retire from the Massachusetts delegation. He returned home, became publisher and editor of *The Boston Republican*, and made it the leading organ of New England for the Free Soil party that supported Van Buren for President in that contest. He was the admitted leader of the distinctly anti-slavery or Free Soil party of Massachusetts, and made his party strong enough to hold the balance of power in the Massachusetts Legislature in 1850, when he brought about the fusion between the Democrats and Free Soilers that made George S. Boutwell, then the Democratic candidate for Governor, Governor of the State, and Charles Sumner United States Senator.

Wilson was defeated for Congress in 1852 by only 93 votes, when there was a majority of thousands against his party in the district, and in 1853 he was chosen to the State Constitutional Convention. In the same year he was the unsuccessful Free Soil candidate for Governor. In 1854 the new party known as the American or Know Nothing suddenly came to the surface, and, as it avowed hostility to the repeal of the Missouri

Compromise, it logically blended with the Free Soilers of the State and carried both Governor and Legislature, and Wilson was chosen in 1855 to succeed Edward Everett in the United States Senate. The first speech he delivered in the Senate was an exhaustive argument against the Fugitive Slave law, and in favor of the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia. Although he was among the new Senators, his record as an earnest anti-slavery man had brought him national fame, and he commanded unusual respect from his fellow-Senators. There were men of greater intellectual force with whom Wilson came in contact both in the Senate and in his tireless efforts for his cause during his career, but he never met a foeman in the forum whose respect he did not win by the dignified, intelligent and chivalrous tone of his arguments. There was not the trace of the demagogue in his organization. He was of imposing presence; was always clad in elegant but unostentatious apparel, and his bright, kindly round face unmistakably proclaimed his sincerity and manliness. He was one of the gentlest of men. I saw him hundreds of times during his long career, heard him in the Senate, on the stump and in many political councils, and I never heard him utter a word that could give reasonable offense to any one.

He was known as the peacemaker of the Senate, and the only time that he ever broke that record was when he spoke on the floor of the Senate in denunciation of the brutal attack made upon Sumner by Brooks of South Carolina. While he did not personally denounce the man who had attacked the Senator with a bludgeon, he denounced the act in unsparing terms, declaring it to be "brutal, murderous and cowardly." Brooks promptly challenged him to a duel, but he at once declined on the ground that dueling was barbarous and unlawful, and he announced in unmistakable terms that he believed in the right of self-defense, but he never had occasion to indulge in that right, as Brooks well knew that Wilson was as brave as he was gentle. The most impressive illustration of the kindly feeling that embellished his whole life was exhibited toward his Senatorial colleague, Charles Sumner, who had become estranged from Grant on the annexation of San Domingo, and who had also offended the violent sectional prejudices of that day by proposing in the Senate that the captured Confederate flags then

held in the North should be restored to the South. The Massachusetts Legislature denounced Sumner and his proposition, and Sumner found himself practically outside the pale of his party, and was refused recognition by the Republicans on the committees of the Senate. When Grant was nominated for re-election, with Wilson as the candidate for Vice-President, Sumner came out in a strong public letter against the Republican ticket and advocated the election of Greeley, but all these actions of Sumner never for a moment estranged Wilson from him. When the election was over and Wilson became Vice-President he at once devoted himself earnestly to restoring Sumner to Republican fellowship, and succeeded in obtaining for him recognition on the Republican side of some of the committees. He also prepared the way for Sumner's re-election to the Senate by the Republicans of the State, and had it practically accomplished, but Sumner died just before the expiration of his term. Wilson could have utterly overthrown Sumner in Massachusetts, but he was ceaseless in his efforts to restore the broken Republican leader in the Senate to the crown he had worn for so many years.

Had Wilson's councils prevailed with the Grant Administration there would have been no Liberal Republican revolt in 1872. While he was careful to avoid positive offense to Grant, he was constant in his efforts to heal the gaping wounds and restore the broken ranks of the Republican party. He was thoroughly up in the political movements of the whole country, and was greatly alarmed at the positive defection among many of the ablest Republican leaders against Grant's re-election. He saw such old-time Republican Senators as Sumner, and Fenton, and Trumbull, and Shurtz and others driven toward revolutionary action, and he was tireless in his efforts to bring about harmony in the support of Grant for a second term. In the early part of 1872 a vacancy occurred in the Cabinet, and Wilson well understood the serious Republican defection that existed in Pennsylvania. Curtin, who had been buried in the Russian mission for several years, had resigned and was soon to return home. The Administration patronage in the State was wielded relentlessly against Curtin and his friends, and it was believed that Curtin would join the revolutionary movement. On his way home he was met in Paris by an authorized representative of the Admin-

istration, and tendered his choice of the English or French missions if he would remain in the diplomatic service, but he gave a peremptory declination, although he had not indicated in any way his political purposes.

Wilson saw in the Cabinet vacancy what he supposed might be an opportunity to halt the discordant elements in Pennsylvania. After a conference with the President he came to Philadelphia to confer with me on the subject, but I was in New York, to remain for a few days. He went directly to New York and met me at the Hoffman House. He made a very urgent appeal to me to go with him at once to Washington, as he felt entirely confident that a Cabinet officer would be appointed from Pennsylvania who would be entirely acceptable to Curtin and his friends. Of course he brought no such direct proposition from Grant, but expressed his positive conviction, after a conference with the President, that such an arrangement could be effected. The Liberal Republican movement was then just beginning to take shape in the State, and had Wilson's plan been practicable, the revolution might have been halted or greatly impaired. I declined to return to Washington with him for the single reason that I knew the suggestion to be utterly impracticable. Cameron was then in the Senate, and a vindictive opponent of Curtin and his friends, and a Curtin man in the Cabinet would have been forced either to assent to the continued ostracism of his friends or compel the President to choose between offending a Senator whose position and power were assured or dismissing his Cabinet officer. I had good reasons for believing that President Grant desired to halt the revolutionary movement and measurably harmonize the party, but he was not tactful in politics, and had more faith in the omnipotence of power than in persuasion or concession.

Wilson made the same efforts in New York and in other States to halt the Liberal Republican movement. In these labors he was simply consistent with himself, for during his whole public career he was known as one who always struggled to pacify and harmonize, but in 1872 he was specially interested in Republican unity as he had become a candidate for Vice-President along with Grant. The health of Vice-President Colfax had been impaired, and he publicly announced his purpose not to be a candidate to succeed himself. Until then he had been a

great favorite with the newspaper men of Washington, but when he made up his mind to retire from politics, suffering as he was from what he regarded as permanently broken health, he lost his social attributes, and gave mortal offense to his old newspaper friends. How far they were justified in the desperate measures of resentment they adopted I could not assume to decide, but when some months later his health improved and he announced himself as a candidate for renomination, the newspaper men of Washington adopted Wilson as their candidate, and made an organized and most aggressive campaign for the defeat of Colfax. It was not disputed at the Philadelphia convention of 1872 that the Washington newspaper men were wholly responsible for the humiliating defeat given to Colfax, and for the nomination of Henry Wilson as his successor.

In the campaign of 1872 Wilson took the stump, as he had always done in past State and national struggles, and certainly delivered the most effective speeches of the campaign in favor of the regular Republican ticket. He always spoke kindly of Sumner and his associates who had broken away to the liberal Republican movement, and commanded the respect of political friend and foe by his dignified and masterly political addresses. It was a campaign of unusual bitterness, and both Grant and Greeley were assailed by flood tides of defamation. Wilson rose above them all, and never uttered a sentence in the severe struggle that could offend any fair-minded opponent. When the struggle was ended and he was victor, instead of seeking to punish the Republicans who had revolted, he continued his efforts to restore harmony in the Republican ranks, and at Greeley's funeral, only a few weeks after the battle had ended, the beautiful spectacle was presented of Grant and Wilson standing by the tomb when all that was mortal of Horace Greeley had obeyed the inexorable mandate of "dust to dust."

I doubt whether any other one of our prominent public men of the last half a century was so thoroughly equipped for public service in the line of political duty as was Henry Wilson. He never permitted his friendships to swerve him from his duty, or his resentments to deform his public record. His knowledge of public men and of the men who controlled the politics of the various States was more general and more intimate than that of any other one man of his time, and in the many flood-tides of

passion during the war and the reconstruction period he always counseled forbearance and generous concession. He struggled long and earnestly to prevent the breach between Johnson and the Republican Congress, and only when he found that his work was utterly hopeless did he unite with his Republican friends in implacable opposition to the policy of the administration.

I saw him many times in the State and national contests made by the Republican party during his lifetime, and he was always clear-headed in counsel, courageous in action and most persuasive on the rostrum in defending his cause. He studiously kept himself in touch with all political movements in every section, and with the men of State and national prominence. The last time I saw him was a short time before his death. He had suffered from a paralytic stroke some months before that impaired his limbs and somewhat hindered his speech, but he climbed up three pairs of stairs in The Times office to discuss with me some present public question that he felt was of vital importance. I never knew a more tireless worker, and yet he labored with such careful method that he never seemed to be exhausted. He was a man of the simplest habits, a stranger to indulgence in wines and dinners, and always ready for work and for a kind greeting for friend and foe.

Wilson was not only a broad gauge statesman, but he was one of the most progressive of our public men. He was at the forefront in every great battle for national advancement, and there was not a single great issue before the Senate that he did not present after the most careful and exhaustive study. He was one of the earliest and most earnest advocates of the Pacific Railway, and in the memorable struggle for the admission of Kansas he was not only among the foremost of the champions of freedom, but he was the Republican tactician of the body. One of his most notable speeches was one made in March, 1859, in reply to Senator Hammond, of South Carolina, who in an address of great ability contrasted the free labor of the North with the slave labor of the South, and urged the slave system as preferable to the free labor system of the North. It was the offspring of the slave master's conception that all labor was menial and degrading, and two Senators—Wilson, of Massachusetts, and Broderick, of California—resented the reflections of Senator Hammond upon the dignity of free labor in the North



by speeches which aroused the entire country to a just appreciation of the issue between free and slave labor. Wilson had risen from the cobbler's bench, and Broderick from the shed of the stonecutter, and they could speak in defense of the dignity of the free labor of the North and the opportunities it possessed for advancement even to the highest position of the Government.

When civil war came, Wilson was made chairman of the Military Committee of the Senate, and continued in that position during the entire struggle, and rendered a service in devising and perfecting legislation for the creation and maintenance of our army that only those who labored with him could fully appreciate. After the first battle of Bull Run he raised the Twenty-second Regiment in Massachusetts, marched to the front as its Colonel, and served as an aide on General McClellan's staff until the assembling of Congress in December. During the first two years of the war he was the author of the laws which were passed abolishing slavery in the District of Columbia, permitting the enrollment of negroes in the militia and granting freedom to slaves and their families who entered the service of the United States. After the war he favored the reconstruction policy of universal suffrage to the emancipated slaves, but he was always steadfast in the support of measures for the conciliation of the defeated Southern people. While engaged in his exacting duties as Senator and in defending the Republican cause on the rostrum he published a number of volumes which are now of exceptional historical value, the most pretentious and important of which was his "History of the Rise and Fall of the Slave Power in America" in three large volumes, the last of which was not fully completed at the time of his death. It is altogether the best presentation of the great struggle for the overthrow of slavery that has been given by any author. Although greatly enfeebled physically by the paralysis he suffered soon after his election to the Vice-Presidency, his labors never ceased and his kind offices had all seasons for their own. On the 22d of November, 1875, when sitting in the Vice-President's room in the Capitol, he suffered a second paralytic stroke, and died in the harness, after a long life of unflagging devotion to every public duty, enriched only in his confessed integrity and self-respect, and profoundly lamented by every good citizen, regardless of his political faith.

## THE STORY OF RECONSTRUCTION.

The complete restoration of the insurgent States to political fellowship and fraternal brotherhood, after four years of the bloodiest war of modern times, is a chapter that can appear only in the annals of our great Republic. None of the civil wars of the past resulted in reunion with the restoration of civil rights, unless compelled by great perils which forced unity for common safety. There were victors and vanquished, and, as a rule, the victors have been masters and the vanquished subjects or slaves; and this great achievement under our free institutions is all the greater and grander in its accomplishment because of the many grave obstacles which were interposed in reconstruction. The restoration of the Southern States to their relations with the Union was accomplished in the most fearful tempest of sectional passion, often entirely obliterating the lines of justice and humanity, and yet with all these fearful imperfections the union of our States was never stronger than it is today.

All intelligent Americans are familiar with the policy of the reconstruction. They have studied its history and know when and how it was accomplished, but very few understood how strangely and sadly a more fraternal and sympathetic policy of reconstruction was made impossible. Had Abraham Lincoln lived there would have been a policy of reconstruction that presented a generously sympathetic appeal to the defeated insurgents, and universal suffrage in the South would never have been known. On this point I speak advisedly, but do not rely wholly upon my own information from Lincoln himself. Cautious as he was, he has, fortunately, left unmistakable evidence of what his policy of reconstruction would have been had he lived to consummate it. He would have offended the more radical element of his party, but would doubtless have commanded the support of the great mass of the Republican people and their representatives in Congress, and the earnest support of all patriotic and conservative Democrats,

Although Lincoln seldom discussed the question of reconstruction and studiously avoided public utterance on the subject, I know that it was the one subject that absorbed his thoughts for many months before the surrender of Lee. Some time in August, 1864, I spent an hour or more with him alone at the White House, and I then for the first time heard him speak with frankness on the subject of restoring the insurgent States. It was then well known that the military power of the Confederacy was broken and that its disintegration was only a question of months. He startled me by his proposition that he had carefully written out in his own hand on a sheet of note paper, proposing to pay the South \$400,000,000 for the loss of their slaves. He was then a candidate for re-election, and grave doubts were entertained until after Sherman's capture of Atlanta and Sheridan's victories in the valley as to the result of the contest between Lincoln and McClellan, and he well knew that if public announcement had been made of his willingness to pay the South \$400,000,000 for emancipation it would have defeated him overwhelmingly.

I never heard him discuss any question with more earnestness. He had evidently given it most careful study, and he believed that successful reconstruction would be impossible without some tangible assurance to the South of sympathetic fellowship from the Government that had conquered it. He knew that the Confederate armies could be defeated and scattered, but what he most feared was that they would not return to their homes to accept citizenship under a hated rule; and with nothing but desolation and want throughout the South, the disbanded Confederate soldiers would be tempted to lawlessness and anarchy. He never cherished a sentiment of resentment against the South, and he was most anxious to teach them in the most impressive way possible that his Government and the North desired the complete restoration of the Southern people to political, social and business fellowship. He said that \$400,000,000 seemed to be a large sum, but that the continuance of the war for four months would cost as much, not counting the loss of life and property. He laid great stress upon the fact that unless the South could be aided to the speedy restoration of her industry and business interests, no help could be had from the Southern States to maintain the national credit and reduce

our crushing war debt. He greatly lamented the fact that the South so strangely misunderstood him in believing him to be almost a second Nero, and he said, with an earnestness that was pathetic: "If these people only knew us better it would be well for us both."

Lincoln expressed practically the same convictions in his conference with Grant and Sherman at City Point a short time before Richmond was evacuated. His gravest apprehension was that if the war ended by the mere dispersion of the Confederate armies there would be no law or order in the South, and no inspiration to industry and the restoration of the desolated homes and fields. It was this consideration that made him authorize General Sherman to say to Governor Vance, of North Carolina, where Sherman's armies were operating, that if the war were ended the Vance government in North Carolina would be sustained by the President until Congress should meet, if its actions were in the interests of peace and the restoration of the Union. When Lincoln returned from the Hampton Roads conference with the representatives of President Davis he was greatly depressed by the failure to open any door in the direction of peace. He is described by Nicolay and Hay in these words: "His temper was not one of exultation, but of broad, patriotic charity, and a keen, sensitive, personal sympathy for the whole country and all its people, South as well as North."

Without consulting anyone he prepared a special message to Congress, and on the 5th of February, 1865, he presented it to his Cabinet. It recommended that \$400,000,000 be issued in six per cent. bonds to be paid to the Southern States for the loss of their slaves, on the condition that all resistance to the national authority should cease on or before the first day of April following, and in the same message he proposed that if Congress adopted his plan of compensated emancipation he would issue a proclamation declaring that with the abandonment of war by the insurgents and their restoration under the authority of the Government armies would at once be reduced to a peace basis, all political offenses would be pardoned, all property liable to confiscation would be released, and liberality would be recommended to Congress on all points not lying within executive control. The Cabinet did not approve of the

message, and after it had been fully discussed and the views of the Cabinet officers ascertained, Lincoln made this indorsement on the back of the message: "February 5, 1865. Today these papers, which explain themselves, were drawn up and submitted to the Cabinet, and unanimously disapproved by them," to which Lincoln appended his name.

It must be remembered that the war was then in progress, and few of the prominent friends of the administration were prepared to view reconstruction from a generous and sympathetic standpoint while the Confederate flag was defended by strong armies in the field. Had Lincoln lived to learn of the surrender of Johnston's army in North Carolina he would certainly have maintained his faith with Sherman and Governor Vance that the ruling purpose of his policy of reconstruction was to maintain uninterrupted governments and authority in all the Southern States after the close of the war. His purpose on this point was also exhibited when he visited Richmond and personally authorized General Weitzel to invite the State government and Legislature to resume their authority in the line of peace. That arrangement was defeated by Judge Campbell and others, who claimed that Lincoln had conceded much more than he intended to concede, which led to a bitter controversy in the Cabinet and in the North, and after the surrender of Lee's army Lincoln revoked the order. The fact that he authorized it proved that his policy of reconstruction contemplated the recognition of the State authorities in the South until the meeting of Congress, unless they persisted in some measure of antagonism to the authority of the national Government.

Lincoln's reconstruction policy had been well considered and determined for months before the surrender of Lee, and it contemplated no act of revenge on the part of the Government. In the fall of 1864 I heard General Butler and Colonel Forney discuss with him the question of punishing the leading insurgents with great earnestness and vehemence, to which Lincoln replied with a story that clearly conveyed his wish that they should all get away "unbeknowns" to him, and he expressed his views to his Cabinet on the last day of his great life, when Grant had returned as victor of Appomattox and was present with the President and his advisers to consider the situation. He declared to the Cabinet, as quoted by Nicolay and Hay, that

no one need expect him to "take any part in hanging or killing these men, even the worst of them." I am thus enabled to confirm my own statements as to Lincoln's views on the subject of reconstruction by the most conclusive evidence furnished by others. He was inspired by that beautiful sentence in his second inaugural, "with malice toward none and with charity for all," and, had he lived, by no act of his would any insurgent have suffered in person or property, unless guilty of violating the laws of war.

On another vital point relating to reconstruction we have the most positive evidence as to Lincoln's views on the subject of suffrage. No proposition was seriously made to confer suffrage upon the colored voters of the District of Columbia while Lincoln was President, for it would not have met his approval. He had evidently considered that subject as one of the stumbling blocks in reconstruction. He knew that the radical element of his party would demand it, and he believed that it would be unfortunate for both races and for both sections. When he was serenaded after the surrender of Lee, and delivered his last public address on the steps of the White House, he knew that the question of reconstruction was upon him and that he must meet it. It was one of the most carefully prepared papers he ever delivered, and with that caution that was always exercised by Lincoln, he meant that it should be suggestive on the material points of reconstruction. In that address he said, speaking of the then partially reconstructed government of Louisiana: "It is also unsatisfactory to some that the elective franchise is not given to the colored men. I would most prefer that it were now conferred on the very intelligent and on those who served our cause as soldiers."

Only a month before he had written to Governor Hahn, of Louisiana, congratulating him as the first Free State Governor, and giving his suggestions as to the elective franchise to be defined in the new Constitution. He said: "I barely suggest for your private consideration whether some of the colored people may not be let in, as, for instance, the very intelligent, and especially those who have fought gallantly in our ranks. They would help in some trying time to come to keep the jewel of liberty in the family of freedom." The letter to Governor Hahn was written before the surrender of any of the Confederate

armies, and was given as a private suggestion, but the speech delivered on the last day of his life presented his most carefully considered conclusions on the subject of negro suffrage, and proposed that it should be confined to "the very intelligent" and to those who had served in the army and navy. The extension of the elective franchise to that limited class of negroes would not have made them a political factor in any State or community of the country.

I have thus stated with some minuteness of detail the attitude of Lincoln on the two vital issues of reconstruction—viz., the treatment of the Southern people by the Government, and the question of suffrage in the reconstructed States. Had Lincoln lived, reconstruction would have been accomplished after the most sober and considerate discussion of all the questions involved in it; but his assassination inflamed the loyal sentiment of the country, and President Johnson reflected it in the early days of his administration by his repeated declarations demanding a tidal wave of retribution. Just one week after he became President he delivered an address to visiting citizens of Indiana, headed by Governor Morton, in which he said that the time had arrived when the American people should be educated that treason is the highest crime known to the law, to which he added: "Yes, treason against a State, treason against all the States, treason against the Government of the United States, is the highest crime that can be committed, and those engaged in it should suffer all its penalties."

Johnson was a man of violent passions. His birth, education and all the conflicts of his life had taught him to hate the ruling class of the South, and when he waded through the tears of a bereaved nation into the Presidency his natural impulses were quickened by the keenly inflamed sectional sentiment of the North resulting from the assassination of Lincoln; but in a very few months, when he came to face the grave responsibility presented to him, he learned that higher and nobler duties must be performed, and his first error when he started in the right direction was to assume the authority, without the knowledge or aid of Congress, to reconstruct the rebellious States. At that time he certainly did not anticipate estrangement from his party, but it was the first step that led him on and finally forced him into an attitude that made an impassable gulf between him

and Congress. He was the natural foe of slavery, and he believed that if he reorganized the State governments in the South and secured the adoption of the amendment to the Constitution abolishing slavery he could command the approval of Congress, the recognition of his governments and the admission of the Southern Senators and Representatives.

He appointed William M. Holden Provisional Governor of North Carolina on the 29th of May, 1865; on the 13th of June William L. Sharkey was appointed Governor of Mississippi; on the 17th of June James Johnson was appointed Governor of Georgia, and Andrew J. Hamilton Governor of Texas; on the 21st Lewis E. Parsons was appointed Governor of Alabama; on the 30th Benjamin F. Perry was appointed Governor of South Carolina; on the 13th of July William Marvin was appointed Governor of Florida, and on the 9th of May he recognized the Pierpont administration as the government of Virginia. William G. Brownlow had been elected Governor of Tennessee; Isaac Murphy had been elected Governor of Arkansas, and J. M. Wells had been elected Governor of Louisiana, all by the Free State organizations. Legislatures were elected under call of the Johnson provisional Governors, and Johnson required of them that they should approve the amendment to the Constitution abolishing slavery and declaring against the payment of all Confederate State debts. There was much hesitation in some of the Legislatures in approving the constitutional amendment, and several of them added to the approval the reservation of the right to the State to claim compensation for the slaves, and some of them were extremely reluctant to reject all Confederate debts, but the President was imperative in his demand and they were compelled to obey.

Johnson had nearly eight months in which to experiment in reconstructing the Southern States without the intervention of Congress, and he was entirely confident that, with the constitutional amendment abolishing slavery adopted and the Confederate debts rejected, his policy of reconstruction could not be discarded by Congress. He was not generally or severely assailed by the Republicans for the reason that none felt entirely sure of the policy Congress would adopt. The question was startling in its novelty and appalling in the magnitude of the issue. I saw the President some time after he had organized



his State Governments, and he was amazed when I expressed grave doubts about Congress recognizing his reconstructed authority in the States and admitting their Representatives to Congress. He certainly desired to avoid an issue with the Republicans, who controlled both branches of Congress by an overwhelming majority, with the Southern States unrepresented; but when Congress met in December the conditions in the South were such as to strengthen the radical element of the Republican party in making aggressive battle against the policy of the administration.

This was greatly aided by the action of the new Southern Legislatures denying full civil rights to the negroes. That these Southern Legislatures meant to be oppressive upon the negroes will not be believed by those who dispassionately study the then existing conditions. The slaves were suddenly made free, and they were the entire labor of the South. The Southern people believed that the negro would be valueless as a laborer under freedom, and their legislation that seemed harsh and greatly inflamed the North was carefully considered to bring about the best results to both races. The Legislatures declared that an idle negro, or one without visible means of livelihood, could be publicly sold as a vagrant to the highest bidder for the period of one year, with severe penalty if he did not fulfil the bond of the law. His civil rights were also limited, enabling him to be a suitor or a witness only in litigation with his own race. Such were the conditions presented by the reconstructed Southern States when Congress met, and the result was an immediate and irreconcilable issue between Congress and the President, as Congress refused to recognize the reconstructed governments and their laws, and rejected their Representatives.

The white people of the South were in the entire control of their respective State governments, and there seemed to be no middle ground on which Congress, the President and the governments of the rebellious States could adjust their differences. The question of political control was then, as ever before and since, paramount, and the Republicans of Congress had to choose between accepting the policy of the President, or accepting universal suffrage and the disfranchisement of those engaged in rebellion, to assure political mastery of the South. Johnson was an impassioned leader and always inflamed rather than tempered opposition. He was aggressive and tempestu-

ous in his assaults upon those who differed with him, and in a little time it became evident to the Republicans that Republican control in the South could be maintained only by universal suffrage and disfranchising the great mass of the property owners in those States. There were many prominent Republicans who hesitated long at accepting universal negro suffrage, with disfranchisement of nearly all the intelligent voters of the Southern States, but all were compelled to choose between accepting the policy of Congress and the policy of the President, and with few exceptions they were marshaled in solid columns.

They provided for elections in all the States, under the direction of the military commander, giving the negroes the right of suffrage, requiring all voters to take the oath of allegiance, and thus founded what was known as the "carpet-bag" rule of the reconstructed States. It was an inviting field for political adventurers from the North, who were aided by a very small proportion of the more mercenary element of the whites in the South, and for nearly a decade this rule ran riot in profligacy, theft and the most violent prostitution of authority. The dark chapter of this reign is written in the annals of the Republic, and need not be repeated here. It was maintained by violent political methods until 1876, when its overthrow was dated by the Republicans being compelled to surrender the State governments of Louisiana, Florida and South Carolina to assure peaceable submission to the inauguration of President Hayes.

Thus the South, after having suffered all the fearful desolation of four years of war, utterly impoverished, with its wasted fields and its silent shops, was compelled to suffer for eight years or more a political mastery that was worse than war in all save the sacrifice of life. But for this sad episode in the history of reconstruction the Southern States would have advanced rapidly in the development of their industries and trade, and it is a high tribute to the courage and patience of the Southern people that, after being halted for nearly half a generation by war and reconstruction misrule, they have rapidly regained their prosperity, and today some of them are not only richer than ever before, but the men who wore the blue and the gray in deadly conflict with each other stood side by side under a common flag in our recent war with Spain, and the victory achieved was as heartily cheered and blessed in the homes of the South as in the homes of the North.

## JAMES L. ORR.

James L. Orr, of South Carolina, was one of the ablest of the Southern leaders for a decade before the civil war, when he served in Congress, and he had a very important part in the reorganization and final reconstruction of the State after the overthrow of the Rebellion. He was one of the few able national leaders who, while heartily sympathizing with the South and sincerely devoted to all Southern interests, was not blinded by sectional passion, and well understood that secession meant war and that war meant destruction. He was thoroughly honest and patriotic in all his purposes and actions; thoroughly commanded the confidence of the Southern Democrats before the war, and of the Southern leaders during the existence of the Confederacy (when he served uninterruptedly in the Confederate Senate) and of all parties—carpetbaggers, adventurers and radical Southerners—in the many bitter and desperate conflicts in his State which attended reconstruction.

Orr was born in Craytonville, South Carolina, May 12, 1822. He was of the old Scotch-Irish stock that emigrated southward from Pennsylvania and gave the three counties of South Carolina in which they settled the names of Chester, Lancaster and York. While he was a South Carolinian by birth, education, affinity and interest, he was born and reared in the western valleys of the State, which are shadowed by the mountains, and while slaves existed there they were comparatively few in number, and labor in the shop and field was not regarded as degrading to the white man, while in the central and eastern part of the State the slave population largely predominated over the whites. He did not inherit fortune, but by care and frugality he attained a collegiate education, graduating at the University of Virginia in 1842. He then studied law and located at Anderson, among his old neighbors, to practice his profession, where he established and edited a village paper entitled *The Gazette*. When but twenty-two years of age he was elected to the Legis-







COLONEL A. K. McCLURE.

Taken in 1870.



lature and first attracted general attention by his earnest and able denunciation of nullification, that was then a lingering issue in the State. Four years later he was elected to Congress, and his first contest was opposed by a more radical Southerner, but Orr was elected by a decided majority. He was re-elected at the four following consecutive elections without opposition, and in December, 1857, when entering upon his last Congressional term, he was chosen Speaker, after having been unanimously nominated by the Democrats. He thus served in Congress during the bitter contest for the repeal of the Missouri Compromise and the desperate struggles later made over the Kansas issue, but he was always conservative and sought to exercise a wholesome restraining influence upon the blind leaders of slavery who led it to its final and convulsive overthrow.

In 1860 he was elected to the Secession Convention of South Carolina, in which he earnestly opposed the withdrawal of the State from the Union, but he stood almost alone, and when the secession ordinance was adopted he yielded his own personal convictions to the sovereign power of the State, and when war came he was among the first to march a regiment of his riflemen to the support of the Confederate cause. Before he had attained any active military service he was elected to the Confederate Senate, where he served during the entire existence of the Confederate Government. He was one of the three Confederate Commissioners appointed by the State to visit Washington in December, 1860, to treat for the surrender of the forts in the Charleston harbor, and he was the one member of that Commission who seemed to understand the magnitude of the issue they were called upon to solve. He was a careful student, an intelligent observer, and he was one of the most genial and popular of all the Southern Congressmen. I think it safe to say that he had more acquaintances and warmer friends among the Northern Representatives than any other man from the South, and he understood the North and its resources and the character of its people better than any of the madcap leaders who plunged the country into civil war.

His career in the Confederate Senate was not an aggressive one, as he better understood the resistless trend of events than did most of his associates, but he was schooled in the doctrine



of the sanctity of State sovereignty on which the Confederacy was founded, and he sustained the secession Government according to his best judgment. When the end came and the Southern armies were surrendered and their banners furled, he at once directed his efforts to the great work of restoring the people of his State to some measure of prosperity. A few months after the close of the war he announced himself as a candidate for Governor of South Carolina under Johnson's reconstruction policy. He was known as a liberal Southerner, who desired to heal the wounds of war and restore the country to peace, but the more radical Southern element opposed his election and selected General Wade Hampton, then the most popular of South Carolina soldiers, to make the contest against Orr. It was a very earnest battle between these two favorites, as both were men of superior ability, ripe experience and personally popular, but Orr was elected by less than a thousand majority, and served until the Congressional reconstruction policy enfranchised the negroes, who largely dominated in the State, and started the carpet-bag rule by electing a mixture of whites and blacks to fill the important State offices.

When the new reconstruction policy was inaugurated his position as a conservative Southerner, opposed to the anti-submissive policy of most of the old South Carolina leaders, commanded sufficient respect for him in the first negro Legislature to elect him Circuit Judge of his district. There was no negro or Southerner in sympathy with the carpet-bag authority who could be given the judicial office, and it was voluntarily tendered to Orr, who accepted it and rendered a great service to his people. The people of property generally throughout the State were bankrupt, and the debts contracted on the basis of Confederate money, that was no longer available for the payment of obligations, made the case of every debtor hopeless. Most of them took the benefit of the National Bankrupt law simply because it was a supreme necessity, but in Judge Orr's district he established the unwritten law that every creditor was entitled to recover from the debtor only what was equitably due him, and no tribunal in the State ever reversed him.

I had met Orr frequently during his ten years of service in Congress, and learned to know him quite well when he served as Speaker of the House. The Speaker's room was then one of

the most delightful places to visit in Washington, and I never missed an opportunity to drop in and have a pleasant chat where all received the most generous welcome, but I had more intimate relations with him in South Carolina four or five years after the war, when I spent a winter at the South Carolina capital representing important Philadelphia railroad interests, looking to an air line from Washington to the Gulf. Judge Orr was always a frequent visitor at Columbia, and became intimately associated with me in important business operations. He was perhaps the only man then in the State who enjoyed the confidence and respect of the old-time Southerners, and commanded the respect of the carpet-bag rulers, although not in sympathy with them in any of their radical or profligate measures. He was a delightful, genial companion, and a most entertaining conversationalist. His knowledge of men and of business affairs generally was better than that of any other citizen I met in the State. He was straightforward, honest and practical in all things, and I found him invaluable in counsel and most efficient in execution.

On this occasion I saw the first negro Legislature. Robert K. Scott, of Ohio, was then in his first term as carpet-bag Governor, and was re-elected in the fall of the same year. The other important State offices were divided between the whites and blacks, and in both branches of the Legislature the negroes largely predominated. Prior to the war the old South Carolina pride was centred in the construction of its new Capitol, that had been under way for some years, and was built up to the square ready for the roof when the war arrested its progress. It was the dream of the South Carolina leaders that it would one day be the Capitol of the Southern Confederacy, and it was constructed with lavish expenditure. Its imposing columns, some of which were already in position, and scores of others scattered over the Capitol grounds in an unfinished condition, and the exquisite Italian marble finishing ready to be put in place, foreshadowed the grandeur of the structure when completed. When Sherman reached Columbia the sheds under which the stonecutters fashioned the work for the building were yet standing, making an almost complete covering of workmen's sheds over the grounds. They were burnt during the fire when Sherman's army was in the city, and destroyed much

of the stone work. The one place to which the old South Carolinian would not turn his eyes was to the Capitol that was once his greatest pride, and that then had been hastily improvised with wooden roof and finishing to enable the released bondmen to make laws for their masters.

There were a number of unusually able negro leaders in the State at the time, and they could have made a great record for themselves and for their race; but they were human, and should not be too severely judged for yielding to the temptations which environed them. Profligacy and theft were in the air, and the slaves who had blacked the boots of guests at the hotels filled the chairs of Senators and Representatives, and when idleness and luxury seemed to be free gifts there were few, if any, who had the courage to maintain their integrity. One was a Supreme Judge, others were Circuit Judges, and they were represented in every department and ready to follow the unscrupulous white leaders, who misled them into the most bewildering corruption and extravagance. The negro was master, and he knew it, and the men who led him doubtless knew that their mastery must be brief; but they expected to enrich themselves and escape in time, leaving the negro the legacy of criminal punishment and poverty. One white adventurer who bargained and won high position from the carpet-bag government insisted that the battle of 1876, that resulted in the overthrow and surrender of carpet-bag rule, should be fought out desperately to the end, giving his reason that there was "at least four years more of good stealing in the State." The Governor was weak and corrupt, and his weakness greatly accentuated his dishonesty, as it made him the plaything of jostling plunderers.

Such was the situation in South Carolina when I spent the winter of 1870 at the capital. The social conditions were sharply defined. The old South Carolina pride naturally refused all social recognition of the negro under every circumstance, and they carried it to the extreme of refusing recognition of all who gave any measure of recognition to the negro. An amusing incident occurred at Governor Scott's first reception. Judge Orr was at the same hotel with me, and he was invited along with myself, Mrs. McClure and a young lady who accompanied us. It was not certain whether the prominent men and women of color

would be among the guests, but it was regarded as probable. Judge Orr and myself were both so situated as to make it prudent for us to attend the reception, but the question was what to do with the ladies. The Judge finally decided that he would take Mrs. McClure and I should take her companion, and that we would go early, and if at any time during the entertainment the colored guests made their appearance one of the ladies of our party should become suddenly ill and compel us to retire. The arrangement was perfected with the ladies, and we went to the reception, but fortunately no colored visitors came.

The Governor was a candidate for re-election, and he knew that in no way could he give greater offence to the whites of the State than to have a promiscuous gathering of blacks and whites on a social occasion in the Governor's mansion. He could arrange with the negroes and their political leaders, because that was simply a question of interest, but he had no way to disarm the hostility of the Southern whites but by excluding the blacks at his receptions. He was re-elected some months later, and after that period the Governor's mansion was often the scene of violent social revels of mixed audiences of blacks and whites.

The secession feeling was then at white heat not only in Columbia but generally through the State. They could stand defeat when they had given up everything but honor in defence of their cause, but the advent of the negro rioting in the Capitol designed to welcome the Government of the expected Confederacy and the ostentatious profligacy of the new rulers naturally aroused the bitterest resentment among the Southern people. Columbia had felt the most fearfully avenging blow of the war next to Atlanta, and without the excuse of military necessity, and the women were implacable in their hostility to everything of Northern flavor. I many times saw accomplished and refined ladies on the streets of Columbia when passing a soldier on the sidewalk deliberately draw their skirts and pass as far from him as possible, to teach him that the touch of the uniform would be contamination, and this was done when no provocation was offered by the quietly passing soldier.

A prominent Columbia banker, who had become profitably connected with the business operations in South Carolina, which I represented, and who had twice dined with Judge Orr and

myself as my guest, when invited a third time exhibited much embarrassment, and, after some hesitation, said that he could not accept further hospitality, glad as he would be to do so, for the reason that he could not return it at his own home. His wife, an accomplished, refined and highly-esteemed lady, had brooded over the misfortunes of the Southern people until it became an impossibility for her to receive at her table a Northern visitor. I understood the situation and insisted that our relations were purely of a business character and not to be governed by social conventionalities. He was greatly relieved, and thereafter dined with us on many occasions, all of which were largely business conferences.

A more pointed illustration of this feeling among the old line Southerners was given me by Judge Orr himself. Near his home, under the shadows of the mountains, he had a neighbor of the old Southern school, advanced in years, unable to earn a living after the sore exactions of war had fallen upon him, but when all else had gone his pride remained with even increasing vigor. His family was helpless, consisting wholly of daughters, and during the last year of the war they were known to be in actual want. To have offered him a charity would have been to invite the business end of his shotgun, and Judge Orr would occasionally send him a barrel of flour from his mill and some bacon, with a regular bill charging the articles at the full inflated price in Confederate money, that was not worth ten cents on the dollar, thereby enabling the old gentleman to receive the flour and bacon as a purchase, although both he and the giver knew that payment was never to be thought of. This was done by Judge Orr and others for a long period. Some four or five years after the war Judge Orr issued invitations to the old gentleman and to his other neighbors to the wedding of his daughter, who married a son of General Patterson, of Philadelphia. This marriage of Judge Orr's daughter to a Northern man gave mortal offence to the chivalrous old Southerner, and thenceforth he and his family never gave any social recognition to Judge Orr or his household.

Judged in the light of the present, with the sorrows of that period entirely effaced, this feeling of the Southern people is not viewed as generously as it should be. The

women of the South were raised in utter helplessness and were suddenly plunged into the most abject poverty, without training to practical industry and usefulness, and while the men of the South were brought into constant contact with Northerners in business affairs, the women were left in their impoverished homes to mourn over the luxuries which had so suddenly fled from them. I saw this illustrated in even so intelligent a woman as Miss Evans, then the most celebrated of Southern authoresses. I once had the pleasure of lunching with her and her husband, Mr. Wilson, at her pretty Southern home near Mobile, and while I knew that the civil war was a forbidden subject in all social circles in the South, I ventured to suggest to her that the great success of her many volumes already published should inspire her to write another embodying some of the more romantic phases of the war. Her genial manner was suddenly changed, and with a sober earnestness that was painfully pathetic she said that she never had spoken of the war nor read a line relating to it since the war ended.

Judge Orr never ceased to be an important political factor in South Carolina, even during the floodtide of carpet-bag debauchery. An effort was made by the better elements of the State, including some of the Republican leaders, to defeat the re-election of Governor Moses, who, although a native of the State, was the most reckless and audacious of all the Southern profligates, and who is now heard of only as a vagrant in the courts of Boston or New York. Judge Orr had the courage to go into the convention and nominate an independent Republican for Governor. An earnest battle was made, but all the election machinery was in the hands of the most reckless rulers, and Moses was re-elected. Failing to succeed in winning a reform State government, he decided in 1872 that he could best accomplish some good for South Carolina by going into fellowship with the National Republican party, and I last saw him when he was in Philadelphia as chairman of the South Carolina delegation in the National Convention that renominated Grant.

Age and tireless effort and consuming care had broken the vigor of his health, and his course was bitterly condemned by many of his old South Carolina friends, but no man ever acted more conscientiously to serve the interests of his people. Soon

thereafter he was appointed by Grant Minister to Russia, and was confirmed by the Senate without objection, but age and care had multiplied his infirmities, and on the 5th of May, 1873, just two months after he had presented his credentials to the Czar, he died in the Russian capital, and thus ended the life and efforts of one of the best, purest and bravest of the sons of the South.

## GRANT AND McCLELLAN, THE AGGRESSIVE AND DEFENSIVE GENERAL.

The two Union commanders of our civil war whose military achievements have been most discussed at home and abroad were Generals Grant and McClellan. Their qualities were discussed in all the heat of partisan devotion among military men and recklessly criticised in the political conflicts of the country during the war, and for some years thereafter, as both became national political leaders as candidates of their respective parties for the Presidency. From the time that McClellan was called to the command of the Army of the Potomac until the close of the war public discussion of his qualities as a military leader was constant, and usually exhibited all the violence of partisan disputation. It was claimed by his friends that he was the ablest and in all respects the most accomplished soldier of the army, and would have won the restoration of the Union with much less sacrifice of life and treasure than was made by those who succeeded him. President Lincoln was severely criticised by McClellan's friends because, as they claimed, the President had failed to sustain McClellan in his campaigns, and thereby made the Administration responsible for his failures. Those who criticised McClellan's military record believed and declared that he was heartily supported by the President, and that his failure as a military commander was the result of his own lack of aggressive qualities. Grant, on the other hand, was discussed by the friends of McClellan as a reckless military leader, who won his victories by wanton sacrifice of the lives of his soldiers, while the friends of the Administration heartily sustained Grant because he met the hunger cry of the nation for battle and victory.

Both of these two military leaders rendered a very high measure of service to the cause of the Union, and each stood out



single and pre-eminent from all the other Union generals in the particular qualities which each possessed. They were entirely unlike in purpose and methods as military commanders. Grant was the most aggressive of all the generals who led the Union army in the field, while McClellan was a most accomplished organizer of armies, and the best defensive commander in all the long list of Union officers whose stars brightened or paled during the bloody struggle. Grant never fought but one defensive battle, and in that he was defeated and lost his command. This was at Shiloh, where he had taken position without expecting immediate attack and was awaiting the arrival of Buell, when General Sidney Johnston hurled an overwhelming force against Grant and drove Grant's army from the field to the line of the river, but Johnston fell in the conflict and Buell arrived with re-enforcements in the evening. He promptly made his dispositions to resume the battle aggressively at daylight, and Grant was then in his favorite attitude as a fighter and routed Beauregard before the close of the day; but Halleck was ordered to the field and relieved Grant of command. McClellan never fought but one aggressive battle, and that was at Antietam, where he should have fought one day earlier, and thereby would have met Lee with nearly one-third of his army under Jackson away from the field. By that one day's delay Jackson reached the field and fought McClellan with the sixty or more guns he had captured with some 10,000 men at Harper's Ferry. Grant was the ablest and boldest of all our aggressive generals, while McClellan was the ablest of the cautious military commanders, and avoided aggressive warfare unless invited by a special advantage.

The military records of Grant and McClellan have been carefully studied by the people of the country and by military men abroad. They stand out distinctly as the great military men of our civil conflict, representing two entirely different systems of warfare. It would have been impossible to transform Grant into a defensive general, and it would have been equally impossible to transform McClellan into an aggressive general. Had our condition been such as to require the severe husbanding of resources and avoiding battle excepting when special opportunity for success was presented, McClellan would have been much the greater of the two for the Union cause. He was a most accom-

plished strategist and a thoroughly trained soldier; one whose personal courage could not be questioned, and his loyalty to his cause was such that if in the line of his duty his life had been demanded for the safety of his Government it would have been freely given. He was one of the purest, most lovable of men, and not one of our generals approached him as an organizer of armies. No one but McClellan could have created the Army of the Potomac and fitted it for the field in a few months in the fall of 1861, and the impress of his discipline and thorough training was plainly manifested in every struggle the Army of the Potomac had until it was crowned with final victory at Appomattox.

McClellan was universally beloved by his soldiers, and in all the many changes made in the Army of the Potomac no one ever commanded the affection of the rank and file as he did; and when the army was driven in confusion by the second battle of Bull Run into the intrenchments at Washington no other one of our generals could have taken it in hand and at once restored its order and discipline and marched it to battle at Antietam. The chief secret of the devotion of the army to McClellan was the absolute confidence of the men that he would not plunge them into needless sacrifice. The battle of Antietam was one of the bloodiest conflicts of the war, but no part of the army ever hesitated for a moment to go into the deadliest strife when they knew it was McClellan's order. Had Grant commanded at Antietam he would have fought the battle a day earlier than McClellan did, and the fighting would not have stopped until Lee had escaped across the Potomac with the shattered remnants of his army.

It was McClellan's misfortune that the conditions under which the Government was placed in our civil war demanded different methods of warfare and greater sacrifices of life than he was prepared to accept. He would have been a great Confederate general, where defensive warfare was a necessity, and where battle should be given only where the superior numbers of the enemy were neutralized by conditions. Had he been in command the bloody and fruitless charges made by Grant at Vicksburg and Cold Harbor, by Sherman at Kenesaw Mountain and by Burnside at Fredericksburg would have been unknown in the history of the war. He was a tireless student of everything

relating to war, and he planned and fought every battle strictly in accord with the theories of military text books. His birth and training were alike against the development of aggressive methods. He was born to fortune, reared in luxury and had little of that attrition with the world that fits youth for development into aggressive men. Had he been a barefoot alley boy, trained to tag and marbles and jostling his way in the world, his splendid abilities, with the opportunity he had for military culture, would have made him more reliant upon himself and less dependent upon military theories. McClellan was more distinctly a defensive general than any of the leading military men on either side of our civil war, and he would doubtless have achieved eminent success if he had been in command of the Confederate army; but the Union army required just the opposite qualities in its military men. They were compelled to fight aggressively, and in such a war only aggressive generals could achieve great success.

President Lincoln has been severely censured by the friends of McClellan as responsible for McClellan's failure in his Peninsula campaign, and most of them yet believe that Lincoln did not give a faithful support to McClellan in his military movements. This imputation upon Lincoln I know to be unwarranted. I many times heard him discuss McClellan, and I am sure that McClellan himself was not more anxious for success in his Richmond campaign than was Lincoln. He had become impatient with McClellan because of his failure to move upon Manassas in the late fall of 1861, when the roads were exceptionally fine, and he finally reluctantly yielded to McClellan's plan of attacking Richmond by the Peninsula. Public and political pressure against McClellan had become very strong, and a majority of the Cabinet officers had lost all confidence in him as a commander and desired his removal, but Lincoln refused to entertain the question. He yielded to the opposition to McClellan on the 11th of March, 1862, to the extent of practically removing McClellan as commander-in-chief and limiting his command to the Army of the Potomac. As McClellan was in the field, he had little opportunity to study military conditions in other departments, which furnished a plausible excuse for limiting his authority, but I speak advisedly when I say that Lincoln most sincerely hoped that McClellan would make a

successful campaign, capture Richmond and thus prove his just claim to be restored as commander-in-chief.

Had his campaign been successful, Lincoln would surely have restored McClellan. He did not fill the position until exactly four months after McClellan had been removed from it, and then he did it under great provocation. Lincoln visited McClellan at his headquarters on the James after the Seven Days' Battles, and a week or more after McClellan, in a communication to Secretary Stanton, said: "If I save this army now, I tell you plainly that I owe no thanks to you or to any other persons in Washington. You have done your best to sacrifice this army." Any other President than Lincoln would have dismissed a general who thus accused the President and the Secretary of War, but Lincoln never yielded to resentment. When he visited McClellan on the James, McClellan handed him an elaborate letter severely criticising both the military and the political policy of the Administration. This letter was delivered to the President in person by McClellan, and the President read it, placed it in his pocket, and made no reference to it whatever; but four days thereafter, when the position had been vacant for precisely four months, Lincoln appointed Halleck as commander-in-chief.

When the armies of Pope and McClellan were driven into the intrenchments at Washington after the second battle of Bull Run, Lincoln well understood that McClellan was the most accomplished defensive general in the army, and in disregard of the views of every member of his Cabinet he personally visited McClellan at his home and asked him to take command of the defenses at Washington, which placed McClellan again in command of the army. That was just an occasion for McClellan's best qualities to be exhibited to the best advantage. His restoration to command speedily brought order out of chaos in the army, and Washington was safe from the hour that he was in charge of its defense. When Lee crossed into Maryland McClellan waited for orders, but received none. Lincoln issued no orders, for the reason that he preferred that McClellan should follow Lee without any special orders from the Government, and McClellan did so. After the battle of Antietam Lincoln was again very much discouraged by McClellan's failure to advance into Virginia, and the many letters he wrote to him which have been given to the public show how sincerely desirous he was to

aid McClellan to victory. Lincoln finally reached the point that he believed it necessary to relieve McClellan of command, and he did it only after long hesitation and earnest appeals, pointing out strategic movements which should be accepted, with the distinctness of a thoroughly trained military officer, and McClellan's military career ended on the 5th of November, 1862, when he was ordered to report at Trenton for further orders, and was never again recalled to a command.

In the spring of 1863 Hooker suffered a most humiliating defeat at Chancellorsville, and the Army of the Potomac had little to inspire it with hope of victory. It had been defeated on the peninsula; it had been defeated at the second Bull Run; it had a drawn battle at Antietam; it had been defeated at Fredericksburg, and defeated at Chancellorsville. It had not a single decisive victory to its credit. Lee concentrated the largest army that ever marched under the stars and bars, and moved into Pennsylvania, where the decisive battle of the war was fought at Gettysburg. There was universal consternation in Southern Pennsylvania east of the mountains. Lee's army penetrated Chambersburg with incursions to Carlisle and York, while Hooker's army was spread across Maryland, with Frederick as a centre, extending its line nearly thirty miles, to be prepared for Lee if he moved down the Cumberland valley to Baltimore and Washington, or if he moved directly upon Washington on the line of the Potomac. Three days before the battle of Gettysburg Hooker resigned, and Meade was appointed to succeed him. I was at Harrisburg in charge of the Military Department, and we were for days after Lee entered Pennsylvania without any definite information as to the positions of the two armies. Philadelphia was naturally apprehensive that Lee might move directly upon the city, and telegrams, letters and committees pressed upon Governor Curtin to call for the restoration of McClellan to the command of the army. Outside of mere partisan political circles the sentiment of the people of Philadelphia was strongly in favor of restoring McClellan to the command, and the business interests were most importunate on the subject. I was sent by Governor Curtin to Philadelphia to confer with a number of prominent men on the subject, and after a conference with a large number of leading business men, among whom were Mayor Henry,

President Thomson and Vice-President Scott, of the Pennsylvania Railroad, I sent a dispatch to Lincoln expressing the views of the business interests of the city, and earnestly urging that McClellan be placed in command of the army. I did so because I knew that the army was discouraged and somewhat demoralized by a succession of defeats; that McClellan would inspire more confidence among the soldiers than any other commander, and because I believed that McClellan was the most accomplished and skillful defensive general of the entire army. Lincoln promptly sent the following dispatch in reply:

“WAR DEPARTMENT, WASHINGTON CITY,

“June 30, 1863.

“A. K. McCLORE, Philadelphia :

“Do we gain anything by opening one leak to stop another? Do we gain anything by quieting one clamor merely to open another and probably a larger one?

“A. LINCOLN.”

The answer was quaint but conclusive. Lincoln doubtless knew much better than I did the obstacles to McClellan's restoration to command, the chief of which was that McClellan had then become an important political factor, and however willing Lincoln might have been to intrust the command of the army to McClellan at Gettysburg, he could not have made the assignment without an open rupture with the Cabinet and Congress. I then believed, and I now believe, that no man in our army would have met Lee with greater skill than McClellan had he been placed in command, but the battle would not have been fought at Gettysburg. He would have held his army as compactly in hand as possible, and never would have allowed the battle to begin when it required two days of hard marching to get the entire army on the field. Meade adopted the better method, as the result proved, but McClellan would have adopted the safer method, and, being on the defensive, could have chosen his battlefield.

No man could command an army in action with greater precision than McClellan. I stood by his side when he fought the battle of Antietam, and all went well without confusion until the crucial test came that required McClellan to depart from the line of extreme caution. I saw two of Burnside's aids at different times dash up to headquarters on foaming steeds and pre-

sent earnest appeals for re-enforcements, that would have required nearly or quite one-half of the reserve to go into action, and, after long and painful hesitation, he refused. He fought that battle from the single standpoint of protecting Washington, while Grant would have fought it to destroy Lee's army. McClellan believed himself outnumbered on the field, in which he was greatly deceived, and that strengthened him in refusing to take any risk of defeat. Antietam was his last battle, the only one in which he was tactically aggressive, and it clearly demonstrated the limitations of a trained defensive general when called upon to be both strategically and tactically aggressive. He was not equal to such a campaign any more than Grant would have been equal to a strictly defensive campaign.

I have said that McClellan would have made one of the most successful Confederate generals because of the different conditions. Had Grant been a Confederate soldier he would probably have developed into a great lieutenant of the type of Stonewall Jackson, but had he been in command of a Confederate army his aggressive qualities would not have prevented him from fighting against odds and advantages, and he would have been a failure. The one soldier of the two armies who had the best mingling of aggressive and defensive qualities in military campaigns was General Lee. Grant was pre-eminently the aggressive chieftain of the war, and all the conditions of the conflict were in his favor. It was the policy of the Confederates to exhaust and discourage the North by avoiding decisive battle, and when fighting to fight under the greatest possible advantages, but after two years of war, when the country was prepared to accept the fearful sacrifice necessary to triumph over the Confederate armies, Grant was the logical leader, and he was much more than a mere stubborn fighter. He was a great general, and he fought from the start on a different theory from that of McClellan. McClellan planned the capture of Richmond and other leading strategic points in the Confederacy, but Grant had only one objective point in all his campaigns, and that was the Confederate army. He captured Richmond and never entered it, even after the surrender of Lee. His campaign in Mississippi, when he whirled his army around to Jackson and defeated Johnston in the open field to prevent the union of the Confederate forces, was one of the boldest and grandest strat-









FARRAGUT

SHERMAN

THOMAS

LINCOLN

MEADE

GRANT

HOOVER

SHERIDAN

HANCOCK

UNION COMMANDERS.

A COMPOSITION BY NORMAN. USED HERE BY COURTESY OF THE TRAVELLERS INSURANCE COMPANY



egic movements of the war, and his triumph at Chattanooga with Hooker's romantic battle above the clouds on Lookout Mountain fully prepared the country to accept him as commander-in-chief, and not only to accept him, but to allow him to fight it out in his own way.

It was then well understood that there must be great sacrifice of life; that overwhelming armies must be sent against the Confederates; that battle must be given wherever they could be found, and that the ranks of Grant's army should be filled. He thus accepted his commission as Lieutenant-General in March, 1864, with the Government and the people fully prepared to believe in him and to sustain him. He knew that he outnumbered Lee nearly two to one, and he marched directly for Lee's army, fought the desperate and bloody battles in the Wilderness which would have deposed a Union general in disgrace two years before because of the terrible sacrifice of life, but the only word that came from Grant on that appalling battlefield was: "I propose to fight it out on this line if it takes all summer." Sadly as the country grieved over its fallen soldiers in the Wilderness, it saw in Grant's dispatch the assurance that Lee's army would certainly be destroyed. It was the most destructive campaign of the war, but, whether wisely or unwisely, Grant never departed from his purpose to fight the enemy wherever he was found. Had he failed in his campaign he would have been severely criticised and hopelessly condemned, but after a year of terrible suspense he closed the war at Appomattox, and the surrender of Lee effaced every error of the aggressive warrior, and made him accepted by the country and the world as the Great Captain of the Age.

## SHERIDAN AND JACKSON, THE GREAT LIEUTENANTS OF THE WAR.

No war of ancient or modern times developed so many brilliant achievements as did our great civil conflict. There is nothing in Grecian or Roman story that surpasses the heroism, alike of the men who wore the blue and the men who wore the gray. Both of the great armies which moved their vast hosts as reapers in the harvest of death were made up almost wholly of volunteers, and, although those in important command at the beginning of the war were educated soldiers, some of the grandest achievements of the conflict were won by military commanders who came from the ranks of the people.

I have in previous chapters spoken of Lee and Grant and McClellan, who will go down into history among the great commanders of our civil conflict, and I now propose to present the record of two great lieutenants of the war who stand out pre-eminently distinguished from all of their fellow subordinate leaders. They were Thomas Jonathan Jackson, who fell at the battle of Chancellorsville, a Lieutenant General in the Confederate army, and Philip Henry Sheridan, who died as General in the United States army. These two men were entirely unlike in general character, in taste, in sympathy and habits, and yet each was the complete counterpart of the other in his own army. Jackson fell in the spring of 1863 before Sheridan had begun his great career in the East, and these two great lieutenants never locked horns with each other. Had they done so with anything like equal commands it would have been the most evenly matched struggle of the entire war, for both possessed the highest possible measure of skill as strategists, had equal dash in action and moved with like celerity. No commander in the Confederate army ever approached Jackson in swiftness of movement, whose corps was known as the "foot cavalry," and but one man equaled him in the Union army, and that man was Sheridan. It was logical that each fought the bulk of the great

battles in which their respective armies were engaged, and neither ever made a false movement nor failed in an important effort.

Both Jackson and Sheridan graduated from West Point without special honors, and neither was expected ever to attain distinction. Jackson was sober, ungenial and was more devoted to religious and philanthropic theories than to war, although he won special honors as a lieutenant with Scott in Mexico. He proved there that he was a born fighter and never missed an opportunity to engage the enemy. With his severe Presbyterian training among people who made the sovereignty of the State part of their religion it is not surprising that this young soldier was one of the first to enter the field when Virginia seceded from the Union. His command was the first at Harper's Ferry, where he remained to organize the rapidly gathering volunteers until Virginia joined the Confederacy and Joseph E. Johnston superseded him, leaving Jackson in command of a brigade. The Union forces were outclassed in generalship at the first battle of Bull Run, as their two armies under Patterson and McDowell were kept divided by the Confederates, while the two Confederate armies united against McDowell at Manassas; and it will not surprise any one to learn that the advance brigade of re-enforcements that reached Beauregard at Manassas just when his lines were broken was that of Jackson, and immediately engaged in the conflict. It was Jackson who halted the retreat of the Confederate forces, and when his brigade forged to the front amidst the scattered and demoralized Confederates who had been defeated, the broken fragments were rallied behind Jackson and snatched victory from the jaws of defeat. General Bee, one of the Confederate officers on the field whose forces had been broken and were in retreat, rallied them by pointing to the Jackson brigade, saying: "See, there is Jackson standing like a stone wall; rally on the Virginians!" and it was thus that the title of "Stonewall Jackson" was given to the greatest of the Southern lieutenants.

Jackson was in command of the Confederate forces in the Shenandoah Valley in the early spring of 1862, and he was charged with the duty of holding as large a Union force as possible in that section to weaken the expected movement upon Richmond. It was his special mission to keep the Union forces

in the valley and avoid battle. He fell back some forty miles before Banks, always avoiding a conflict, but when Banks retired toward Winchester Jackson followed and gave battle at Kernstown, without achieving victory, but resulting in Banks recalling all his forces in the valley again, when Jackson retreated up the Shenandoah to Swift Run Gap, where Banks did not venture to attack him. This was the beginning of one of the most remarkable campaigns made by Jackson to be found in the history of any war. Romantic and heroic as were the achievements of Napoleon's marshals, not one of them ever approached the achievements of Jackson in his military movements beginning in May, 1862, and ending with his death at Chancellorsville one year later.

When McClellan moved to the Peninsula in his campaign against Richmond, McDowell had an army of 30,000 men on the Rapidan threatening the Confederate capital from the North; Banks had nearly 20,000 men in and about Harrisonburg to cover Jackson's movements, and Fremont, with a column of more than half as many as Banks had, was moving toward Staunton. Jackson was then charged with the double duty of holding all these forces from the support of McClellan and fighting them when necessary. His army consisted of his own command of 8,000 men, Ewell's division of about like number and Johnston's brigade of some 3,000, that was then watching Fremont. Jackson was thus surrounded by armies of more than double the number of his command, and never did any commander exhibit more exquisite strategy with the utmost celerity of movement, until he had completely broken the combination against him by unexpectedly striking the Union forces in detail and defeating them in every engagement. He first made a rapid and circuitous march to the village of McDowell, where on the 8th of May he surprised Fremont's column, defeated it and so completely paralyzed it that it ceased to be a factor in his brilliant campaign. He then swung with equal surprise upon Banks, who had his divided forces at Strasburg and Front Royal. He struck and overwhelmed the Union force at Front Royal on the 23d of May, and two days later routed Banks at Winchester and drove him to the Potomac with great loss of prisoners and stores.

These brilliant movements halted McDowell and forced joint

movements by McDowell's army from Fredericksburg, by Fremont from Western Virginia in Jackson's rear and by Banks and Sigel from the Potomac, to destroy Jackson's army. Thus on the 30th of May Jackson was at Winchester with a force not more than half equal to the three armies converging against him. The capture of his army was confidently expected, and even those who had most faith in his ability to meet an extreme emergency saw little chance for his escape. I doubt whether any commander in the Confederate army other than Jackson could have extracted himself in triumph as he did. He first made a rapid move to Strasburg directly toward McDowell and Fremont, and threatened both until he had disposed of his captured stores and prisoners. He then retired up the valley pursued by Shields, commanding a division of McDowell's army, and by Fremont, but he moved so adroitly as to prevent the junction of the two commands, and on the 8th of June he surprised Fremont at Cross Keys and defeated him. He then whirled his army across the Shenandoah during the night, struck the advance of McDowell's forces at Port Republic and routed them before Shields with the main body could get into action or Fremont could arrive with re-enforcements.

The Union troops then retired to the lower Shenandoah to formulate new campaigns against Jackson, but they next heard of Jackson as the thunder of his guns echoed from Gaines' Mills, where his arrival turned the scale against Fitz John Porter. The Union troops he thus forced to remain in the valley outnumbered him more than two to one. They had no knowledge of his wonderful forced marches to Richmond until the beginning of the Seven Days' Battles, and Jackson was in the thickest of the fights during the daily conflicts which were fought to force McClellan and his army to take up a new base on the James. Even then, with all the many forced marches and repeated battles fought by Jackson and his corps, he was detached by Lee early in July to return to meet his old enemies of the valley, all of whom had been concentrated under General Pope. On the 9th of August Jackson again unexpectedly struck Banks at Cedar Run and defeated him, and in a few days Lee with the main body of the Army of Northern Virginia joined Jackson in the campaign against Pope. In this movement Jackson was again assigned one of the most delicate and desper-



ate duties when he proposed to move from the Rappahannock with some 25,000 men and flank Pope's army on the right; but it was made with his usual celerity, vigor and success. He not only turned Pope's flank, but captured his headquarters and depot of supplies at Manassas, destroyed his connections and forced Pope to retire from the line of the river. He then held Pope at bay, even with the aid he received from McClellan's army, until the 30th of August, when Lee's army was again in line of battle and the second disastrous battle of Bull Run was fought, resulting in the retreat of all the Union forces into the intrenchments of Washington.

Lee moved from the second Bull Run battle into Maryland, and it was necessary for Lee's safety that Harper's Ferry, with its 70 guns and garrison of 13,000 men, should be captured. But one man was thought of for the duty, and that was Jackson. He made forced marches night and day, invested Harper's Ferry, captured it on the 15th of September, and two days later he was on the Antietam battlefield fighting McClellan with the captured Union guns and munitions. Without rest for himself or his troops, he was in command of the left wing of Lee's army that in turn repulsed the assaults of Hooker, Mansfield and Sumner. One of his divisions, under A. P. Hill, did not reach Antietam until the afternoon, and it saved the army from having its right flank turned by Burnside. At Fredericksburg he commanded the right wing of Lee's army, having been promoted to Lieutenant General, and he there repulsed the only hopeful movement that was made by the Union forces on that bloody field. Thus from the 1st of May until the battle of Fredericksburg, in December, Jackson's corps made more forced marches and fought more battles against superior numbers and without a single defeat, than can be claimed by any commander of modern or ancient warfare. In all these movements, with the single exception of his participation in the Seven Days' Battles in front of Richmond after the first day, he acted entirely independent of orders as to the details of his action, and the matchless strategy that he exhibited was wholly his own, proving that he was capable of all the great duties of the highest command.

Jackson had opportunity to rest and recuperate his corps after the battle of Fredericksburg until the spring of 1863, when

Hooker crossed the Rapidan in his advance upon Richmond. Jackson was again placed in front, and he struck Hooker on the first of May, when he was emerging from the Wilderness. Jackson at once attacked the Union forces so vigorously that Hooker was compelled to retire and take a defensive attitude in the Wilderness, with the Chancellorsville House as his headquarters. Lee's position was very strong for defensive battle, but Hooker's was nearly or quite equally strong, and Lee could not attack with his diminished forces. It was there that Jackson made the boldest, most heroic and most successful movement of the war. Relying upon Jackson's swiftness of movement and his ability to meet any emergency, he was detached from Lee's army and made a forced march of some ten hours to flank Hooker's right. Late in the evening he was in position to strike the rear of Howard's corps, and attacked with all the impetuosity for which Jackson's troops were noted. In less than an hour he had Howard's corps broken and driven from their position, resulting in Hooker's retreat across the Rapidan, giving Lee a complete victory.

It was in this movement that Jackson was mortally wounded by his own devoted followers. After dark he had gone with a small party outside of his own lines to reconnoitre, and on his return they were mistaken for Union soldiers and were fired upon by the men who worshiped Jackson. His left arm was shattered by two bullets, and after it had been amputated and his recovery was confidently expected pneumonia seized him and on the 10th of May, 1863, the greatest of all the Confederate lieutenants, and the one soldier of the war on either side who had made the swiftest marches and won the most victories against superior numbers in the same period of time, was conquered by the only enemy to whom all mankind must bow.

Had Jackson been at Gettysburg on the 1st of July, as he surely would have been had he then been living, as he was always in the front when battle was expected, it is not unreasonable to assume that the result of that decisive battle of the war might have been one of the saddest chapters in the annals of the conflict for the maintenance of the Union.

Sheridan, who was Jackson's counterpart in the Union army had not won great distinction as a military leader until Jackson's death. He was a second lieutenant in the army when the

secession movement began, reached his first lieutenancy in March, 1861, and was promoted to a captaincy a few weeks later. He was buried in the quartermaster's department until May, 1862, when a Michigan cavalry regiment then in the field under Halleck happened to be without a colonel, and the Governor was finally prevailed upon to give a reluctant consent to the appointment of Sheridan. He speedily developed his wonderful military genius. At the battle of Murfreesboro he exhibited the highest qualities of a soldier, and also at the battle of Chickamauga, where he came to the relief of Thomas when Rosecrans, McCook and Negley had left the field. Both of these conflicts gave him splendid opportunities to develop his ability to handle troops on the battlefield, and his most important achievements in both actions were accomplished without orders from his superior officers and resulted in most substantial aid to the army. Later when Grant was assigned to the command of all the forces at Chattanooga Sheridan led the charge at Missionary Ridge in the centre that was directly in front of Grant, whose headquarters were at Orchard Knob. Grant witnessed the assault and saw that Sheridan was the inspiration of the movement, made without orders, by which the Union army, after driving the Confederates from their defenses at the base of the ridge, followed them up the hill and thus drove Bragg from his position on Missionary Ridge and routed his army.

Grant was a careful student of the capabilities of the officers under his command, as is shown by the achievements of the men who were promoted under him. When he was called to the East as Lieutenant General to take command of the army he surprised the War Department and most of the Eastern military men by calling Sheridan to command his cavalry, and he accompanied Grant in his campaign from the Rapidan to Cold Harbor. During the terrible battles which Grant fought in the Wilderness, Spottsylvania and other places the cavalry under Sheridan was constantly on the flanks of the enemy and making raids to demoralize it. Like Jackson, his enemy never knew where he was. One of the most remarkable raids of the war was made by him starting on the 9th of May and lasting two weeks, when he cut all the railroads that supplied the Confederate army, and in one of his engagements, on the 11th of May at Yellow Tavern, he defeated the great cavalry leader, General

Stuart, who fell in the battle. Again, on the 7th of June, when Grant was at Cold Harbor, he made another raid to the rear of the Confederate forces, destroying railroads and capturing a number of prisoners. Grant thus learned to appreciate Sheridan as a man of the highest strategic qualities and the boldest dash, with unfaltering courage, and when it became necessary to send an adequate force to drive Early from the Shenandoah Valley he assigned Sheridan to that task, and the history of that campaign is known to all as one of the most brilliant and successful movements of the war. He twice defeated Early, and finally, when absent twenty miles from his command, and Early had made an unexpected attack and driven Sherman's army from the field he made his celebrated ride, gathered up his scattered forces, formed them in line of battle, rode in front of them himself, hurled his reformed lines upon the enemy, and not only defeated, but routed it, and the valley was never again occupied by a Confederate army. For these victories Sheridan was promoted to a Major Generalship in the regular army.

It was in the last campaign between the two great armies commanded by Grant and Lee that Sheridan conclusively proved his right to be ranked with Jackson as the greatest of all the lieutenants of his army. If Sheridan had not been with Grant, Lee would surely have escaped capture at Appomattox. He was the one man who was tireless in effort, thoroughly skilled in the intricate movements necessary to harass a retreating army, and his courage at times amounted to madness. He was the fiend of battle, and he is the only man in the Union army who would have fought and won the battle of Five Forks as he did. It was the key to the successful pursuit of Lee, and Sheridan well understood that all hope of capturing Lee's command must perish unless the Confederates could be driven from their strong defensive position. When he reached Five Forks in the pursuit of Lee's army he at once appreciated that a formidable enemy confronted him in a very strong position. He immediately issued orders for the speedy march to his assistance of all the troops behind him. He dismounted his cavalry, seized the flag and led the charge himself. Only a Sheridan or a Jackson could have fought such a battle or won such a victory. With the Confederates driven from their last stand at Five Forks the capture of Lee was possible with such a relentless and swift

pursuer as Sheridan. He had raided almost every section of the country through which they were marching, and understood every opportunity open to Lee for escape. He was a man of extraordinary physical vigor, and, inspired by the hope of a final victory over the army of Lee, he never rested until Appomattox was made immortal in American history. He had all the fighting qualities of Grant, with a dash and ingenuity that none of his fellow-soldiers possessed. It is only just to the memory of Sheridan to say that he was the real victor over Lee at Appomattox, and he is crystallized in the history of the war as the greatest of all the lieutenants of the Union army.

I never met General Jackson and cannot speak of his individual qualities from personal knowledge, but his character is so well known that even his most intimate acquaintances could shed no new light upon it. He was the Cromwellian soldier of the war, the one who always entered battle with prayer, and who never wearied of religious devotion. I knew Sheridan well. He was one of the jolly, rollicking, big-hearted class that made him a most genial companion and delightful associate under all circumstances. Like Jackson, he was as modest as he was brave. It was most difficult to get him to tell anything about his own part in the war. I remember dining with him soon after his return from the Franco-Prussian war, where he was with the German army. I was greatly interested in his observations of the condition of European armies and wherein they differed from our military methods, but when I tried to get him to tell the story of his famous ride from Winchester to turn victory into defeat, he was a most reluctant talker. I pressed many inquiries upon him in relation to it, but all he would say was that when he "met the boys they seemed to turn around and go in just of their own accord." He was made Lieutenant General by Grant, much to the disappointment of Generals Meade and Thomas and their friends, and when on his death bed, and only a few days before his death, Congress paid him the high compliment of authorizing him to be placed on the army roll as General, and his last official act was his order announcing the appointment of his staff. On the 5th of August, 1888, the great lieutenant of the Union army passed to his final account.

## GENERAL WM. T. SHERMAN, THE GENIUS OF THE UNION ARMY.

Next to Grant and McClellan the military chieftain of our civil war who has been most discussed from the standpoint of strongly opposing convictions is General William T. Sherman. Although he had been retired from active service in the early part of the war because he was believed to be wildly visionary in military matters, his name is now safely intrenched in history as second only to Grant among the great military commanders in defense of the Union. He was born in Ohio on the 8th of February, 1820, and when quite young was adopted by Thomas Ewing, then one of the leading public men of the State, and in 1836, when Ewing was a United States Senator, he indicated Sherman for appointment as a cadet to West Point. Sherman graduated in 1840, and served as a second lieutenant in the army in Florida, Mobile and Charleston, and in 1846 he was in command of a body of troops sent around Cape Horn to join the army of Scott in Mexico. In 1850 he married Miss Ellen B. Ewing, the daughter of his benefactor, who was then Secretary of the Interior, and was promoted to a captaincy, in which position he served in St. Louis and New Orleans. In 1853, believing that promotion would be long delayed in the army, he resigned his captaincy and became manager of the branch bank of Lucas, Turner & Co., in San Francisco. In 1857 he returned to St. Louis and resided in New York for a time as agent for a St. Louis house. In 1858 he located at Leavenworth, Kansas, to practice law, as he had studied law during his military service, and one year before the war he became superintendent of the State Military Academy at Alexandria, Louisiana. He was always frank and outspoken, and when the secession movement began in the South he at once declared his purpose to sustain the Government, and resigned his position and returned to St. Louis, where for a brief period he acted as an official of a street railway.

When civil war began Sherman promptly offered his services, and on the 13th of May he was commissioned colonel of the Thirteenth Infantry and ordered to report to Scott at Washington. He commanded a brigade in the first battle of Bull Run, and exhibited great skill in the management of his almost entirely raw troops, for which he was commissioned Brigadier-General on the 3d of August, and on the 28th of the same month he was ordered to report to General Anderson, who was then in command of Kentucky. Anderson's failing health, and his inability to cope with the complicated political and sectional troubles in the State, made him ask to be relieved of the command, and Sherman was assigned as his successor. When Sherman was charged with the responsibility of an important command he startled the Government by his demand for 60,000 troops to hold Kentucky in subjection, and declared that not less than 200,000 men would be necessary to overthrow the rebellion in the Southwest. On this occasion Sherman simply proved that he understood the war much better than any of the national authorities or military commanders. He understood the South, knew what the war meant, and his demand for 200,000 men to conquer the rebellion in the Southwest was vindicated by the fact that fully that number of troops were finally compelled to be marshaled to overthrow the power of the insurgents in that section and enable the Father of Waters again to flow "unvexed to the sea."

Instead of calmly investigating Sherman's demand, it was at once assumed that Sherman was mentally unbalanced. I remember going into the War Department in Washington very soon after the announcement that Sherman had been relieved of his command in Kentucky, and met Colonel Scott, Assistant Secretary, with whom I was intimately acquainted. When I asked him why the change had been made he significantly placed his finger upon his forehead, and said: "Sherman's gone in the head; he's lunny." General Cameron, who was then Secretary of War, had been sent to Missouri to investigate the Fremont troubles, and he stopped to see Sherman on his way back. I happened to be in Harrisburg when Cameron returned, and learning what train he would be on, and anxious to know whether he had accomplished anything in Missouri, I hastily boarded his car and had ten minutes' conversation with him. I

had great confidence in his judgment when he said that Fremont was a failure, and would have to be relieved, but I was astounded when he told me that he had visited Sherman and that Sherman was absolutely crazy. Cameron said: "Why, Sherman wants 60,000 troops to hold Kentucky, and says not less than 200,000 can conquer the rebellion in the Southwest."

As the Government did not then have 260,000 organized soldiers throughout the entire country, the demand of Sherman was truly appalling, and the conclusion was irresistible that either Sherman was crazy or that we were up against a war of whose magnitude we had no just conception whatever. Cameron returned to Washington, reported that Sherman was "gone in the head" and wholly unfitted for command, and Sherman was soon relieved of his position in Kentucky and ordered to report at the St. Louis barracks. In Administration circles he was generally spoken of as a lunatic, and when it was told that he wanted a quarter of a million of men to hold the South from the Ohio to the Gulf there were few who were prepared to dispute his alleged infirmity.

Sherman chafed around the St. Louis barracks for months, doing what he could to organize troops, but finally in February, 1862, Grant called for Sherman, as he knew him and had faith in him, and assigned him to the Fifth Division in the Army of the Tennessee. His first opportunity to display his ability as a commander was at the battle of Shiloh, where Sherman commanded the wing of the army that received the sudden and overwhelming shock of Sidney Johnston's attack. It was charged that Grant and Sherman were both surprised when Johnston delivered battle, but Sherman always denied it with great earnestness. I have heard him speak of it many times, and he always very positively refuted the idea that they were taken by surprise. He did not deny that the attack was unexpected at the particular time it was made, but insisted that they were as well prepared for it as was possible, but that they hoped the attack would be delayed until the arrival of the Army of the Ohio under Buell that was then hourly expected.

Johnston had masked his movements well, and suddenly struck Sherman's command and drove it from its position, but the fight was stubbornly maintained, and Sherman, although wounded, remained in the field and exhibited admirable qualities of gen-



eralship. Grant's army was outnumbered, and was compelled to fall back before the overwhelming force assailing it, but every inch of ground was desperately contested until night closed the struggle. General Buell with his entire command arrived during the night, which gave Grant equal or superior numbers, and the offensive was assumed early on the next day, when Beauregard was defeated and his army driven from the field. As General Sherman had to bear the brunt of the attack, he had his first opportunity to exhibit his qualities as a field commander, and he was very highly complimented by General Grant, who said in his report, speaking of Sherman: "To his individual efforts I am indebted for the success of that battle;" and General Halleck, who came to the army immediately after the battle and thereby superseded Grant, in his report said: "Sherman saved the fortunes of the day on the 6th, and contributed largely to the glorious victory of the 7th."

From the time of the battle of Shiloh Grant always regarded Sherman as the ablest of his lieutenants, and in all the many campaigns assigned to Sherman he never gave disappointment to his chief. The relations between Grant and Sherman were never strained, although at times they differed as to military movements. When Grant decided upon his march from Vicksburg around to Jackson to strike General Joseph E. Johnston and prevent him from uniting with Pemberton, Sherman was very earnestly opposed to it. It was the boldest military movement ever conceived or executed by Grant, and one that involved great peril to the army if it failed to achieve victory. Sherman had several times urged Grant to abandon it, but Grant was immovable, and finally Sherman wrote a protest to Grant, giving his reasons in a respectful but very frank manner why it should not be attempted. Grant made no answer, but placed the paper in his pocket, and after his return from the movement, which he had crowned with victory, and thereby decided the fate of Vicksburg, he quietly handed the paper back to Sherman.

After the Vicksburg campaign Grant had Sherman brought to his aid at Chattanooga, where Sherman's command had the bulk of the fighting on Grant's left. In that struggle he had Hooker, Thomas and Sherman in battle under his immediate eye, and he was so fully confirmed in the superior ability of Sherman as an all-around commander that in the early part of

1864, when Grant was called to the command of the armies as Lieutenant-General, he assigned Sherman to the command of the second most important movement of the Union armies in the campaign to Atlanta. Sherman had Johnston in front of him in that campaign, a general who was equal to himself. It was one of the most brilliant campaigns of the entire war. There were few battles fought until Hood succeeded Johnston and made his ill-fated assault upon Sherman at Atlanta. In only one instance did Sherman assault Johnston, and that was the only mistake of Sherman's campaign. It was at Kenesaw Mountain, where Johnston occupied a very strong position, and Sherman decided to attempt to break the lines of the enemy, but he was twice repulsed, with great loss, and without serious injury to the Confederates.

It was the most brilliant strategic campaign of the war, and the two opposing commanders were equally equipped in that important science of war. Sherman, with his superior numbers, could flank Johnston and compel him to retire, but it made an exhausting campaign, as every mile that Sherman advanced increased his difficulties in procuring supplies and weakened his forces to guard his lines, as it required four months for Sherman to march from Chattanooga into Atlanta.

Had Johnston continued in command at Atlanta, it is possible although not probable, that Sherman might have been prevented from capturing the city; but the Confederate Government and the Southern people generally became impatient over Johnston's many retreats, and when Sherman had his army in front of Atlanta, President Davis visited his army there and relieved Johnston of the command, and gave it to General Hood, one of the most heroic fighters of the Confederates, and he was appointed to the position with the distinct understanding that he was to give battle to the enemy. Hood met the expectations of President Davis by promptly delivering battle by a sudden and wholly unexpected assault upon General McPherson's command. His movements had been well masked, and neither Sherman nor McPherson anticipated the attack until the Confederates were upon them. McPherson was at Sherman's headquarters, neither anticipating any immediate movement by the enemy, when suddenly the firing began but a little distance from them. McPherson rapidly mounted his horse to reach the field,

but in a few minutes the horse returned riderless, as McPherson was killed in attempting to reach his command. It was on this occasion that General Logan, a civilian commander, whose promotion in the military service had been severely criticised as due to political influence, exhibited great ability in handling the forces of McPherson. Although largely outnumbered, he held his position, fighting desperately until re-enforced, when, after a bloody battle, Hood was defeated and driven from the field. That conflict decided the fate of Atlanta, and in a few days thereafter Sherman was enabled to move his forces in such position as to compel Hood to evacuate the city.

General Sherman was then in a condition that required the exercise of the soundest military judgment to determine how he should follow up his victory. He had Atlanta, the gate city of the South, but he could not remain to defend it, as it would simply bottle up a great army that could be supplied only with the greatest difficulty. It was Sherman's own conception to take the flower of his army and march to the sea. Grant and the Administration, after very careful consideration, approved of the movement that was then regarded as altogether the most desperate venture of the war, whereas it turned out to be little more than a picnic, as Sherman really marched to the sea through the richest country of the South that furnished him abundance of supplies, without meeting any Confederate force that fought beyond the dignity of a skirmish. His successful march to Savannah, the capture of that city and the later capture of Charleston are so prominently recorded in history that all understand them. He marched his army of 60,000 men 300 miles in 24 days through the heart of the Confederacy, and had abundant supplies drawn from the country.

At no time during the war was there greater anxiety about any one army than there was about Sherman during his memorable march to the sea. No word came from him directly during the twenty-four days he was on his march, and the wildest reports came from the Southern newspapers about Sherman having been defeated time and again. The War Department was crowded every day during the last two weeks of Sherman's march by anxious inquirers for information from his army. Finally, a day or two before Christmas, the advance of Sherman's army was signaled at Savannah, and soon thereafter came

Sherman's first dispatch to President Lincoln, saying: "I beg to present you as a Christmas gift the city of Savannah, with 150 heavy guns, plenty of ammunition and 25,000 bales of cotton." For this achievement Sherman was made a Major-General of the regular army, and received the thanks of Congress for "his triumphant march."

Sherman was the most brilliant and versatile of the prominent Union generals, and I believe that he may be justly regarded as the military genius of all the chieftains on the Union side. He was not only a great fighter, but he was a great strategist, and he was terribly and tirelessly earnest in all his military movements. He was a man of the purest character, of the sternest integrity, and as positive in his convictions as he was aggressive in action. He possessed the genius of adaptability that made him equal to every emergency, and, taking his military record from the beginning to the close of the war, it exhibits fewer mistakes than are found in the record of any of his prominent fellow-soldiers, with the single exception of Thomas, who never committed a military blunder, never sacrificed a command and never lost a battle.

It was my fortune to become intimately acquainted with Sherman, and I met him on many social occasions. He rarely missed a dinner of the Clover Club, and was the favorite of all the many distinguished guests it has had. He loved convivial occasions, and was generally among the last to leave. I have often sat with him until far in the morning hours, after all but a few of the dinner guests had departed. He had great contempt for politics and politicians, resented with vehemence the suggestion of his name as a candidate for President, and declared that he would not accept the office if it were voluntarily tendered to him by the American people. Of course, he meant it, but none the less, like Grant, he would have accepted had such a contingency arisen. On all social occasions he was one of the most genial and delightful of guests, and as long as he was physically able to enjoy the dance he never missed an opportunity to indulge in the waltz or cotillon when fair partners were around him. Of all the public men I have known I regard Sherman as the most frank and free in conversation. He was incapable of dissembling, and often blurted out the truth as he

accepted it in a way that was not always acceptable to his hearers.

Sherman was the only one of the eminently distinguished officers of the Union army who seldom spoke kindly of the Southern people. He was an earnest loyalist; believed that the war for the disruption of the Union was utterly causeless, and he never ceased to censure the Southern leaders as guilty of criminal revolution against our free institutions. Considering that Sherman was one of the most chivalric of men, this feature of his character appears as a rift in the lute of his generally excellent attributes, but I have always believed that his hostility to the Southern people was greatly intensified by his personal contact with them. Between the soldiers, as a rule, the asperities of the conflict ceased when peace came, but Sherman in his campaign from Chattanooga to Atlanta, and thence to Savannah, Charleston, Columbia and Raleigh, came in direct contact with the local civil authorities, and aroused their fiercest and most vindictive hostility by his rigid enforcement of the rules of war, as was absolutely necessary in conducting a campaign in the heart of the enemy's country. His correspondence with the local authorities of Atlanta developed this phase of his character with great distinctness, and while Grant would have spoken with equal decision, but with every possible degree of kindness, Sherman hurled back the complaints of the local authorities and people by reminding them that they were responsible for wanton and bloody war and must accept the consequences.

Two features of Sherman's record have been discussed with great bitterness in the South. He was denounced as a brutal vandal for his destruction of Atlanta, and it is not surprising that the helpless people compelled to give up their homes to desolation poured a floodtide of defamation against him; but what could Sherman have done with Atlanta? It was the gateway of the Confederacy and its most important base outside of Richmond. He had made a summer's march to conquer it, because its possession was most essential to the South, and when he had conquered it, he had to do one of three things: Remain in possession of it and bottle up a great army that would have required another great army to protect its line of supplies; abandon it and give back to the enemy all that he had fought for in his campaign, or destroy it and thus secure the

substantial fruits of his victory. It was a harsh, a cruel fate, but military necessity does not take pause to consider the sacrifices which at times are imperative to attain military results.

The desolation that attended Sherman's march through South Carolina and the destruction of Columbia, the beautiful capital of the State, have been harshly and in some measure justly criticised alike by the South, by the country and the world. Looking back over the terrible destruction left by the tread of Sherman's army in the Palmetto State, in the changed conditions of the present, there is little to offer in excuse for it; but it must be remembered that Sherman himself shared the implacable resentment against South Carolina that was deeply grounded throughout the entire North because that State was held, and justly held, responsible for precipitating civil war, and it was the general expectation and certainly the general desire of the inflamed North that the heavy hand of retribution should fall upon that people. Sherman was always very sensitive on the subject, and I have heard him discuss it many times with great warmth in defense of his record. That he did not personally command the destruction of Columbia I do not doubt, but that his army exhibited a degree of vandalism that was equaled only by the Confederate vandalism in Chambersburg, as they applied the torch to the ill-fated city, cannot be disputed; and the effort made to charge General Hampton and his command with the responsibility for the burning of the city because they fired some cotton when they evacuated it was made plausible, but lacked the vital element of truth. I met General Frank P. Blair soon after the army returned to Washington. He had commanded a corps under Sherman in South Carolina, and when I asked him to tell me to what extent charges of destruction of homes and property in South Carolina by our soldiers were correct, his answer was: "Well, we left them the wells." No voice of protest came from the North, and in the fierce sectional passions of the time any measure of retribution upon South Carolina was welcome; but that record dims the lustre of the triumphs of the Union army, and I believe that General Sherman himself, if living today, would be in accord with the general sentiment of the North in the wish that no such chapter had been written in the annals of the republic.

General Sherman succeeded to the generalship of the army

when Grant became President, and with the universal approval of the loyal sentiment of the country, but he could not remain in harmony with the War Department, even when Grant was President, who was his sincere friend, and changed his headquarters to St. Louis. After his retirement he made his home in New York, where he was a favorite in every social circle until the inexorable messenger came to bid him pass beyond the dark river.

## THE UNFORTUNATE COMMANDERS OF THE ARMY OF THE POTOMAC.

No great army in any modern war was so unfortunate in its commanders as was the Army of the Potomac. During the four years of civil war that army had five different commanders, exclusive of General Grant, who personally commanded it as Lieutenant General during its last campaign, and of General Pope who commanded it at second Bull Run. General Meade was nominally its commander under Grant but he was little more than chief of staff. It is marvelous, also, that the Army of the Potomac, the most important Union army of our conflict, exhibited the highest type of heroism on every battlefield, notwithstanding the tendency to demoralization that necessarily resulted from the frequent failure and change of commanders.

When, after the bombardment of Sumter, the Government was compelled to face fraternal war, and troops were hurried to Washington, the Confederates were equally active in preparation for war, and it soon became evident that a great battle must be fought at some point between Washington and Richmond; and that was then expected to be the decisive struggle of the war. When Patterson was marching with his army to the Shenandoah Valley, in May, 1861, he encamped at Chambersburg for some days, and I was intensely interested in the discussion of the military situation and the probability of future battles, as presented by Generals Patterson, Cadwallader, Doubleday and Keim, and Colonel Thomas and Major Fitz John Porter, both of whom became Major Generals, with Senator Sherman, a volunteer aid on Patterson's staff, who made up a dinner party at my home. The only point on which these officers agreed was that a battle would have to be fought, but all, with the exception of Thomas and Doubleday, were positive in the conviction that one pitched battle would bring the North and South to peace on some compromise basis. The one who said the least was Colonel Thomas, then commanding the regu-



lars in Patterson's army, as he did little more than modestly dissent from the views of the majority as to the magnitude of the war. He was a Virginian and knew the South. Doubleday, who had been in Fort Sumter, and who was an enthusiast, surprised his fellow-soldiers by declaring that it would be one of the most desperate and bloody wars of modern history; that he knew the South well, and that they meant to make it a fight to the death. He was the first to leave after the dinner, and when he had gone several leading officers ridiculed Doubleday's ideas of a long and terrible war, and I well remember the remark of one of them that Doubleday was a Spiritualist and a little gone in the head.

When the first army was gathered in Washington after the surrender of Sumter to organize for the defense of the capital and for an aggressive movement toward Richmond Major Irvin McDowell was serving on the staff of General Scott in the Adjutant General's Department as inspector of troops, and what little organization was possible to give to this army of three months' men was given by Major McDowell, who had served in Mexico under General Wool in Taylor's army and was breveted captain for heroic action at the battle of Buena Vista. On his return he became connected with the Adjutant General's Department and served in Washington, New York and elsewhere, and on the 14th of May, 1861, he was commissioned as Brigadier General and assigned to the command of the Department of Northeastern Virginia and of the defenses of Washington. Two weeks later, after an earnest and somewhat bitter struggle between ambitious military men, he was assigned to the command of the Army of the Potomac, subject to the orders of General Scott as Commander-in-Chief. The struggle for the command of that army was very earnestly contested, as it was generally believed that only one great battle would be fought, and that the officer who was given command of the army would have an exceptional opportunity to win distinction. It was understood at the time that Secretary Chase, who was then very close to Lincoln and an earnest friend of McDowell, finally decided the assignment in favor of McDowell, who, like Chase, was from Ohio.

It is not disputed that McDowell's strategic movements for the first battle of Bull Run were wisely conceived, nor has he

ever been criticised as having failed in any of the important duties of a commander either in the march or on the battlefield. He was a quiet, intelligent, faithful officer, and the campaign may be summed up in a single expression made by General Sherman, who commanded a brigade in the action, and who said that "it was one of the best planned battles, but one of the worst fought." McDowell's army of 30,000 men was made up entirely of raw three months volunteers, with the exception of probably 800 or 1,000 regulars, and the battle was fought just when the terms of most of the volunteers were about to expire. The period of enlistment of several regiments expired between the time the army moved from Washington and the engagement, and some of them marched back from the battlefield to the music of the enemy's guns because they had given their full term of service. To lead such an army in an aggressive campaign to attack the enemy in a chosen position was a desperate undertaking, but difficult as was McDowell's task he had won the victory and would have driven the Confederates from the field had not General Scott's strategy proved to be terribly at fault by permitting Johnston's army to come to the relief of Beauregard just when his forces were retreating. Thus McDowell was compelled in the end to fight the two armies of Johnston and Beauregard, while Patterson's army was away in the Shenandoah Valley, where it was expected to hold Johnston in check.

McDowell thus lost the first battle of the war, and although none questioned his fidelity or his skill in handling his forces, he was a failure, as in war nothing is successful but success. While McDowell was necessarily relieved of the command of the Army of the Potomac he held important commands, and died October 15, 1882, a Major General in the regular army.

The second commander of the Army of the Potomac was General George B. McClellan, who had entered the Military Academy in 1842 in the same class with Stonewall Jackson, Reynolds and others, and graduated in 1846. He was in the Mexican campaign with Scott, and his subsequent early history is well known.

When the civil war began, McClellan was in Cincinnati, at the head of great railway work, but he promptly offered his services to the Government. Ohio was a border State, and, like

Pennsylvania, seriously exposed to incursions from the enemy, and Ohio and Pennsylvania both proceeded about the same time to organize State forces for their own defense. When the organization of the Pennsylvania Reserve Corps was assured Governor Curtin telegraphed to General McClellan, at Cincinnati, offering him the command of the corps, but he had just accepted an offer from the Governor of Ohio to commission him as Major-General of Ohio Volunteers. He was thus compelled to decline the Pennsylvania Corps, and in one month after he had taken the Ohio command he had started on a vigorous campaign into the western part of Virginia, and won several battles, resulting in the capture of a large portion of the Confederates and the death of General Garnet, their commander. Although these battles would not have been regarded as more than respectable skirmishes later in the war, they inspired great confidence in McClellan as a military commander, and he was called to succeed McDowell as commander of the Army of the Potomac, with the hearty approval of the country. On the 1st of November, 1861, General Scott retired and McClellan was commander-in-chief of all the armies.

McClellan exhibited marvelous military genius in the organization and discipline of his new army, and, however his campaigns may be criticised, all confess that he was the most accomplished military organizer of either army in our civil war, and no man ever commanded an army who inspired greater devotion than was given to McClellan by the Army of the Potomac. The country was impatient for battle and for victory, and McClellan's failure to move against Manassas during the fall and early winter months, when the weather was exceptionally fine and the roads in good condition, gradually weakened the confidence of both the Government and the public in his ability as a commander of a great army.

When he finally moved upon Manassas he found it abandoned, and then at once made his movement to the peninsula. The result of that campaign need not now be reviewed. The crimination and recrimination between McClellan and the Administration are well known to all intelligent readers of the history of the war. The siege of Richmond was raised by the Seven Days' battles, in which the Confederates took the aggressive, and after the second defeat of Bull Run, when Pope was

driven into the fortifications of the capital, President Lincoln personally requested McClellan to resume the command. He accepted the position and soon had his army in position to assure the safety of Washington, and when Lee crossed the Potomac he followed him and fought the battle of Antietam.

After Antietam McClellan delayed his advance into Virginia because of the lack of proper equipment, although repeatedly urged to move by the President. Finally, on the 7th of November, 1862, he was relieved of the command of the Army of the Potomac, and was succeeded by General Burnside. That ended McClellan's active military service during the war. He was certainly one of the most accomplished soldiers in either army, and had no equal as an army organizer, but he was a trained engineer, and in taste and method was adapted to defensive rather than to aggressive warfare. In the defensive battles fought in the Seven Days' fight before Richmond he exhibited the highest attributes of generalship. Although the Army of the Potomac had four commanders, including Grant, who in turn succeeded McClellan, the one man who ever held the devotion of its soldiers was General McClellan. His career after leaving the army is well known, and need not be repeated. He was the unsuccessful Democratic candidate for President against Lincoln in 1864, was Governor of New Jersey, and later engaged as engineer on the Stevens battery for harbor defense in New York, and in 1870 became chief engineer of the Department of Docks of that city. He died in Orange, New Jersey, on the 29th of October, 1885.

Thus, in eighteen months of the war the Army of the Potomac had fought under two commanders, and had been defeated in every conflict with the single exception of Antietam, and that was practically a drawn battle. General Burnside was called to the command as McClellan's successor, and he was the one man placed at the head of that army who frankly and positively declared that he did not regard himself as fitted for the responsible task. He was an open-hearted, manly soldier, and knew his limitations. He was a graduate of West Point, after having served an apprenticeship to the tailoring trade, and, after a military service on the frontier, he resigned his lieutenant's commission in the army in 1852. He then became connected with General McClellan in Western railroad operations, and

in 1860 was treasurer of the Illinois Central Railroad, with his office in New York. In 1861 Governor Sprague, of Rhode Island, called him to his native State to command the first regiment of volunteers, to which he promptly responded, and on the 20th of April he started for Washington at the head of his regiment. He commanded a brigade in the first battle of Bull Run. On the 6th of August he was commissioned a Brigadier-General, and in January, 1862, he commanded the expedition against Roanoke Island, resulting in the capture of that place and Newbern and of Forts Macon and Beaufort. At the second battle of Bull Run he commanded a corps under Pope, and when Lee crossed the Potomac Burnside led the advance and fought the battle of South Mountain, defeating the Confederates, and he commanded the left wing of McClellan's army at Antietam.

When Burnside assumed the command of the Army of the Potomac it was divided into three grand divisions under Sumner, Franklin and Hooker, and on the 15th of November he made a movement to Fredericksburg, expecting to intervene between the two portions of the Confederate army commanded respectively by Longstreet and Jackson, which were then separated by two days' march. He arrived at the Rappahannock in time, but the pontoons were delayed, thus hindering him from crossing the river until Lee's army was entirely united in his front. He then fought the disastrous battle of Fredericksburg, after which he charged Marey's Heights, after the failure of his movement on his left against Jackson, and was repulsed with terrible loss. I saw Burnside in the War Office at Washington the second morning after the battle. He was terribly crushed by his failure, and frankly insisted that he never should have been placed in command of the army. He asked to be relieved, and the request would have been promptly complied with, but a satisfactory commander could not be found. Reynolds, Meade and Sedgewick all refused it, or begged to be relieved from it. He believed that his division commanders had not supported him, and without consulting any one he issued an order dismissing several of his leading officers from the service and relieving others from duty; but the order was not approved by the President, and the command was finally tendered to General Hooker. Burnside was then transferred to the command of the Department of the Ohio, where his record became con-

spicuous for the arrest and conviction of Vallandigham. He continued in important commands, his last being that of the Twentieth Corps in Grant's campaign to Petersburg; resigned from the army April 15, 1865; was thrice elected Governor of Rhode Island, twice elected United States Senator, and died at his home, in Bristol, R. I., November 3, 1881.

General Hooker succeeded Burnside as commander of the Army of the Potomac on the 25th of January, 1863. There was much hesitation in Government and military circles about intrusting Hooker with so responsible a command. He was a heroic and dashing lieutenant, and always fought the enemy and fought desperately when an opportunity presented, but he at times precipitated an engagement against orders, and when he should have refrained, a notable instance of which was at Williamsburg, on the Peninsula. He had bitterly denounced Lincoln as an incompetent, and suggested that the safety of the Government required a military dictator, and he was accused of having failed to give Burnside honest support in the Fredericksburg campaign. Lincoln knew all these infirmities of Hooker, and when he assigned him to the command he addressed Hooker a letter, in which Lincoln frankly said to him that, when serving under Burnside, he had taken counsel of his ambition and thwarted him as much as he could, and he also reminded Hooker that he had declared that "both the army and the Government needed a dictator," to which Lincoln added that only successful generals could become dictators, and all he asked of Hooker was military success, in which case Lincoln would risk the dictatorship. Hooker gave fresh inspiration to the demoralized and despairing Army of the Potomac. He had the condition and supplies of the soldiers vastly improved, and his enthusiasm was largely infused throughout the army. I met him in the War Department in Washington soon after his assignment to the command. He was a most interesting study. He was a man of unusually handsome face and elegant proportions, with a complexion as delicate and silken as a woman's. When I asked him what he thought of his campaign on which he was about to start, he answered in the most enthusiastic manner, declaring that he had the finest army on the planet; that he could march it to New Orleans; that he would cross the

Rapidan without losing a man, and then "take the rebs where the hair was short."

That his campaign was superbly planned is admitted by all. He had crossed the Rapidan most successfully, but when he came in front of Lee and was compelled to take the responsibility of directing a great battle he was bewildered into pitiable littleness. When standing on the porch of the Chancellorsville House in the Wilderness a ball struck one of the large pillars, and a heavy splint struck Hooker squarely across the breast, stunning him into insensibility. Stimulants were promptly applied, and when he became conscious the first thing he said was that no movement of the army should be made until he was capable of giving the order himself. Thus many hours were lost in idleness when every moment was golden, and Jackson was enabled to complete his wonderful flank movement around the right of Hooker's army, surprise and rout it, and Hooker, although very largely outnumbering the enemy, retreated across the river. Had he been a corps commander, retreat would have been the last thing he could have thought of, but the responsibility of supreme command was too great for him, and he ended what at the beginning was one of the best conceived and executed campaigns of the war by retreating just when victory was within his grasp. I dined with General Stoneman in Washington soon after the battle. He had commanded the cavalry under Hooker, and when I asked him why it was that Hooker had failed, he said that he was the most brilliant of all the generals up to a certain point, but when his limitation was reached he was utterly helpless. He said that he had been in California with Hooker, bullwhacked across the plains and run the mines and knew him thoroughly, and he described Hooker's infirmities in about these words: "He could play the best game of poker I ever saw until it came to the point when he should go a thousand better, and then he would flunk."

A month after the battle of Chancellorsville Lee started on his Gettysburg campaign, and Hooker in following him certainly directed his army with great skill. When Hooker had gotten his army into Maryland he very wisely asked of the department that the 11,000 troops under French at Harper's Ferry should be added to his force, but it was refused, and Hooker at once asked to be relieved of the command. His request was

complied with, and General Meade was made his successor on the 27th of June, just three days before the battle of Gettysburg began. Hooker afterward was assigned to the command of the Eleventh and Twelfth Corps, which were hastened to Chattanooga to the relief of Rosecrans, and he made the struggle of Missionary Ridge romantic by what is called "the battle above the clouds," when he captured Lookout Mountain. In Sherman's Atlanta campaign Hooker commanded the Twentieth Corps, and gave heroic service until after the capture of the Gate City, but, believing that he had been unfairly treated after the death of MacPherson, by the promotion of Howard, he asked to be relieved of his command, and on the 30th of July, 1864, he was placed on waiting orders and his active services in the war were ended. In 1865 he was in command of the Department of the East, and later of the Department of the Lakes, and, having suffered a stroke of paralysis in 1868, he was placed on the retired list on the 15th of October in that year, with the full rank of Major-General. He never fully recovered from the paralysis, and on the 31st of October, 1879, he died at his home in Garden City, Long Island.

General George G. Meade was the fifth and last commander of the Army of the Potomac. He graduated from West Point in 1835, and first served in the Indian wars of the South; afterward, under the direction of the War Department, surveyed the mouth of the Sabine River, and later assisted in the survey of the delta of the Mississippi. He was also employed in the astronomical branch of the survey of the boundary between the United States and Texas, and a civil assistant in the survey of the northeastern boundary between this country and British America. In 1845 he joined the staff of Taylor at Corpus Christi, took part with Taylor in the several battles which resulted in the capture of Monterey, and was breveted for gallantry. He was then transferred to General Scott's command and served on the staff of General Patterson. On the 13th of August, 1861, he was appointed Brigadier-General and assigned to the command of the Second Brigade of the Pennsylvania Reserves. I was on a visit to the Reserves at Tenleytown when General Meade appeared the first day he had worn his brigadier star, to take command of a brigade that he was destined to lead in many desperate conflicts. He was then quite effeminate in



appearance, as he had been engaged in office duties for a considerable time, and had little of the rugged and bronzed appearance of the commander who stood the shock of Lee at Gettysburg. He was very quiet, but courteous in manner, and was simply a soldier, with well-settled contempt for those in the military service who sought promotion by political pull. He was severely wounded in the Seven Days' battle before Richmond, but rejoined the army as speedily as possible, and participated in the second battle of Bull Run and fought most gallantly at South Mountain and Antietam. At Fredericksburg he did the only successful fighting that was done by the army, and most likely would have turned Lee's right had he been properly supported. He commanded the Fifth Corps at Chancellorsville.

On the night of the 27th of June, 1863, when the army was in and around Frederick, on the march against Lee, but little more than two days before the battle of Gettysburg began, he was suddenly and unexpectedly charged with the command of the army. Considering all the circumstances, it was the most delicate duty ever assigned to any of the Union commanders during the war. The Army of the Potomac had been defeated in nearly every pitched battle under four different commanders, and he was compelled to assume the direction of the army just on the eve of battle, when he did not even know the position of the different corps of his command; but Meade reluctantly accepted the grave duty assigned to him, and handled his army with consummate skill in approaching Lee. His corps were necessarily scattered over a wide line across Maryland, to be able to concentrate against Lee as rapidly as possible, either on the line of the Susquehanna or on the line of Baltimore and Washington, and when he heard that the advance of Lee had crossed the South Mountain he sent Reynolds, his ablest lieutenant, with two corps to reconnoitre. Reynolds met the Confederates on the plains between the South Mountain and Gettysburg, fell early in the action, and his two corps were speedily overwhelmed by superior numbers and driven through Gettysburg without any military order whatever, and landed on Cemetery Hill.

The many conflicts of the following two days and the final defeat of Lee are well understood by all intelligent readers.

Meade fought the decisive battle of the war, but never was accorded the full measure of justice for his achievement because he failed to pursue Lee and give battle to the enemy when in a strong position at Williamsport. Meade's army had been marching or fighting almost day and night until it was fearfully exhausted, and one-fourth of his entire force was among the killed, wounded or missing when the battle closed. He had repulsed Lee at Gettysburg and thus decided the supreme conflict of the struggle, and yet he was criticised because he did not commit the same blunder at Williamsport that Lee had made in Pickett's charge at Gettysburg.

It is now known that he could have attacked and defeated Lee at Williamsport, for the simple reason that Lee's ammunition was exhausted and the river for several days was flooded and impassable, but Meade had no knowledge of that fact, and having won the decisive battle by repelling an assault, he prudently refused to assault himself and give Lee the vantage ground in the struggle. For thus winning the decisive battle of the war Meade was commissioned a Brigadier-General in the regular army, to date from the 3d of July, 1863. A period of inactivity followed at Gettysburg, until early in the fall, when Meade discovered that Lee's army was divided, and he made a rapid movement that finally brought him before Lee's entire command in a strong position at Mine Run. The failure to strike Lee's army in detached commands resulted from the failure of one of his commanders to move in the exact line assigned to him, and Meade found that he had the entire army of Lee in front of him, in a position of exceptional strength. Impatient as the country was for renewed battle, Meade had the courage, after a very careful examination of the position of the enemy, to withdraw without firing a gun. The army then went into winter quarters and remained until the spring of 1864, when General Grant was made Lieutenant-General and commander-in-chief of the army, and personally commanded the Army of the Potomac in its final movements from the Rapidan to Petersburg and Appomattox. Meade continued as commander of the Army of the Potomac, but, of course, had no responsibility for the movements of the army, and he was entirely overshadowed by the final achievement of the capture of Lee that practically dated the end of the civil war. After the war Meade commanded the

Department of the East, and later the Department of the South, and died at his home in Philadelphia on the 6th of November, 1872.

No modern war of any country presents such a strange history in the failure of the immediate commanders of an army that fought the greatest battles during four years of desperate and bloody warfare. All of them were accomplished, experienced and gallant soldiers, and after four had failed to bring victory to one of the most heroic commands of history, the fifth saw the final triumph of his army as a subordinate commander.

## ALEXANDER H. STEPHENS, ONE OF THE ABLEST AND MOST UNIQUE OF SOUTHERN LEADERS.

Alexander H. Stephens, of Georgia, was not only one of the ablest but he was quite the most unique character of all the great Southern leaders when civil war was precipitated. His father had settled in Pennsylvania about the middle of the eighteenth century, and made his home at the junction of the Susquehanna and Juniata rivers. After the Revolutionary war, in which he served, he moved to Georgia, where his son, Alexander, was born on the 11th of February, 1812, and was left an orphan at the age of fifteen. He was a frail, delicate youth, and kind friends aided him to a collegiate education, but the indebtedness was fully repaid by his later efforts as teacher. He was admitted to the Bar in 1834, and in 1836 was elected to the Georgia Legislature. He was an earnest supporter of the sovereignty of the State, and a very positive advocate of the institution of slavery, believing and declaring it to be the logical and inevitable result of God's own laws; but he was equally positive in his opposition to nullification or to any revolutionary assault upon the power of the national Government.

Stephens entered Congress in 1843 as a Whig, and served continuously for sixteen years. As a Whig he supported Clay for President in 1844, and at the same time advocated the annexation of Texas, to which Clay was opposed. He was very earnest in his hostility to the Mexican war and to the Polk Administration, although that war was intended to increase the slave power in the republic. He continued his fellowship with the Whig party until General Scott was nominated in 1852, when he and Toombs and a number of other prominent Whigs issued an address, written by Stephens, declaring their reasons for refusing to support Scott, and Toombs and Stephens voted for Daniel Webster for President at the election of 1852, although

Webster had died some months before. Notwithstanding the change in his political attitude, he was continuously re-elected to Congress until he resigned in 1859. Soon after resigning he delivered a farewell speech to his people in Augusta, Georgia, in which he said: "I saw there was bound to be a smash-up on the road and resolved to jump off at the first station."

In the national contest of 1860 he separated from the ultra-Southern leaders, who supported Breckenridge for President, and advocated the election of Douglas. After the election of Lincoln, Stephens was invited to address the Legislature of Georgia, and on the 14th of November, 1860, he expressed his views on the subject of secession with great frankness and in the most incisive and forceful manner. He said that the first question to be considered was whether it was the duty of the South to secede from the Union because of Mr. Lincoln's election to the Presidency, and his answer was in these words: "My countrymen, I tell you frankly, kindly and earnestly that I do not think they ought." He referred to the fact that they had gone into a national contest and had been outvoted, to which he added: "Were we to make it a point of resistance to the Government and go out of the Union on that account, the record would be made up against us." He made a most eloquent appeal to the Legislature not to act hastily; to exhaust all peaceable means before entertaining the question of severing the Union. Notwithstanding his appeal to the Legislature against revolutionary movement a convention was called that resulted in the secession of the State, and Stephens was chosen a member of the body. He continued in earnest opposition to the secession movement, but his admonition fell upon listless ears in the tidal wave of passion that then prevailed, and when secession was an accomplished fact he bowed to it in obedience to his convictions of paramount duty to his commonwealth.

The convention elected him one of the members of the first Confederate Congress, and when it met at Montgomery, in February, 1861, he was elected provisional Vice-President, along with Jefferson Davis as provisional President. His selection for the second office of the Confederacy was intended as a generous concession to the large old Whig element of the South that, while generally sustaining slavery, opposed the policy of secession. In the beginning of his career as Vice-President his rela-

tions with President Davis were severely strained, and although at the regular election for President and Vice-President in 1862 he was unanimously elected as Vice-President along with Davis, he rarely presided over the Confederate Senate. During the last two years of the war he was almost a stranger in the official circles of Richmond. Davis was not well adapted to harmonious action with those who were at variance with his policy, and it is quite likely that he did little to encourage confidential relations with his Vice-President. In 1863 he gave for *The Richmond Dispatch* an interview after Lee's retreat from Gettysburg, when the question of some form of reconstruction was being openly discussed in the South. In that interview, which was revised by himself, he said that reconstruction was a thing impossible, and that such an idea must not be tolerated for an instant. To which he added: "The only terms on which we can obtain permanent peace is final and complete separation from the North. Rather than submit to anything short of that let us resolve to die like men worthy of freedom."

Stephens' hostility to the policy of the Davis administration permeated his State so thoroughly that in 1864 the State Government of Georgia, under Governor Brown, was on the point of rebellion against rebellion, and the power of the Confederacy was greatly impaired by the demand for peace that came from Georgia, North Carolina and other sections of the South. In the early part of 1865, when the military, and, indeed, all the resources of the Confederacy were practically exhausted, Davis realized the necessity of making a positive movement toward peace, and the way was opened by the mission of the elder Francis P. Blair, who was permitted by President Lincoln to visit Richmond, confer with Davis and discuss the question of ending the war. The result of that mission was the appointment by Davis of Vice-President Stephens, ex-Senator Hunter and ex-Judge Campbell as commissioners to confer with President Lincoln on the question of peace. The change of a single word in the two letters written by President Lincoln and President Davis in authorizing a conference on the subject of peace made the success of the purpose of that conference entirely impossible. Davis in his letter to his commissioners expressed the most earnest desire "to secure peace to the two countries," and

Lincoln in his answer expressed equally earnest desire to secure "peace to the people of our one common country."

Mr. Stephens and his Commissioners were instructed by President Davis to propose peace on any honorable terms that involved the perpetuity of the Confederacy, and that practically precluded a conference with Lincoln on the subject. Lincoln met the Davis Commissioners, but beyond a social chat with old acquaintances like Stephens and Hunter, with whom Lincoln had served in Congress, there was no pretense of adjustment. Lincoln was inexorable in his demand for one common country, and Davis equally inexorable in demanding peace for two countries. Two months later the Confederacy collapsed by the surrender of Lee, and in the tempest of passion that swept the country after the assassination of Lincoln Stephens was arrested as a prisoner of State and confined for five months in Fort Warren, Boston, when he was released on parole. He was chosen to the United States Senate by the Legislature of Georgia organized under President Johnson's reconstruction policy, but was refused admission. On the 22d of February, 1866, he delivered a speech at Crawfordsville, his home in Georgia, in which he as frankly told the South that reconstruction must be accepted as he had told the South before the war that secession meant war and destruction. It was the first important expression that came from the leaders of the South, and was welcomed throughout the country as furnishing the first ray of hope for reunion and fraternal fellowship.

In 1874 he was elected to Congress and served continuously, being re-elected without opposition until 1882, when he resigned to accept the Governorship of Georgia, to which he had been elected by over 60,000 majority. His first notable speech after his return to Washington as a national legislator was against the Civil Rights bill, and in the memorable Tilden-Hayes Presidential contest of 1876, while he advised and justified going behind the returns made by the Returning Boards of Florida, Louisiana and South Carolina, he earnestly opposed any revolutionary protest against the inauguration of Hayes when the Electoral Commission declared in his favor; and it is remembered as an important political episode that when the large painting now in the national Capitol presenting Lincoln and the Cabinet deciding to issue the emancipation proclamation was

unveiled Stephens gave an address that was then accepted as one of the most patriotic and eloquent deliverances of the times. He had been an invalid during his entire life, and when he retired from Congress to become Governor of Georgia his vital powers were well exhausted, and he died before completing his first term.

I first met Stephens in 1856, when he came with Howell Cobb to Chambersburg, where I resided, to speak for the election of James Buchanan to the Presidency in the native county of their candidate. The appearance of Stephens was at first most disappointing. He was of nearly or quite normal height, but never weighed much if any over one hundred pounds. He looked like a walking skeleton covered by a swarthy skin, that gave him more the appearance of a well-preserved mummy than of a vigorous man, but he had a finely chiseled face, bright and expressive eyes, and he was not only a delightful, although somewhat grave, conversationalist, but he was an unusually earnest, incisive and impressive speaker. The advent of two such distinguished sons of the South to the old home of Buchanan assured them a most cordial welcome, and the leading Republicans of the place joined in extending to them generous hospitality. Stephens and Cobb were entirely unlike in temperament, although perhaps equally forceful intellectually. Stephens was always calm, earnest and logical, without any attempt to employ the rhetorical arts of the orator, while Cobb was impetuous, fiery and at times superbly eloquent. Cobb believed that the Republican movement then just developing under Fremont would be easily defeated, and that the political organization would then perish, but Stephens at that early day was impressed with the peril to the country from the sectional issue that had then for the first time been squarely presented in a Presidential contest. I doubt whether any other Southern leader appreciated the true condition of the country and the growing strength of the anti-slavery sentiment as did Stephens. He spoke of it very frankly in private conversation, and did not attempt to conceal his gravest apprehensions of an early attempt to dismember the Union, to which he was heartily devoted. It was a period of the contest when the strength of the Republican movement had not yet been developed, and Buchanan's election was confidently expected by an overwhelming majority;



but later, when the September elections came along, and when Maine, only a few years before one of the most reliable of Democratic States, rolled up a majority of thousands for the Republican cause, all who looked dispassionately upon the political situation could not fail to appreciate that the power of the Democracy was overthrown in the North, and that the South could not long maintain Democratic mastery in the nation.

Stephens was the most astute parliamentarian of the Whigs during his early service in Congress, and second to him was Thomas L. Clingman, of North Carolina, who served with him as a Whig and later as a Democrat. It was Stephens and Clingman who made possible the passage of the bill repealing the Missouri Compromise in 1854, and it was accomplished by one of the shrewdest parliamentary movements to get the bill before the House on final passage. Stephens advocated the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, as he frankly stated, because he believed it to be in the interest of slavery. He was notable for the frankness of his expressions on all public questions, and he often declared in a dignified and respectful manner what the leaders of his party attempted to conceal. If he had possessed ordinary physical vigor he would have made a much more lustrous record, but most of all the great labors he gave were performed when he was a suffering invalid to an extent that would have made most men abandon public effort. He had resigned his seat in Congress one year before the war began, and tried to enjoy the rest he so much needed at his home in Crawfordsville, Georgia. When by his early efforts at the Bar he had accumulated sufficient money, he purchased the old home of his father and occupied it until his death. During his entire residence there it was known as "Liberty Hall," where every one, high and low, black and white, was welcome to enjoy his bachelor hospitality. He made an earnest struggle from the time that the first seeds of secession had exhibited growth to hold Georgia in a position to conserve the violent secession sentiment of the Cotton States, and although he earnestly opposed secession, even against the inflamed public sentiment that demanded it, when the convention passed the secession ordinance he never lost the respect of his people. They elected him to the convention as a known Union man, and he was made Vice-President of the Confederacy by a unanimous vote when it was well known

that he was not in sympathy with the cause and regarded it as suicidal madness. The result was that he was not in the confidence of the Confederate Government, and was not called upon to perform any public act of importance until February, 1865, when the collapse of the Southern Government seemed to be inevitable. He was then placed at the head of the Peace Commission by President Davis, and met Lincoln at Grant's headquarters.

Lincoln well knew before he met the Stephens Commission that they could not have any hopeful conference on the question of peace. Lincoln's letter on the subject demanded peace to the people of "one common country," and Davis' letter on the same subject called for peace to "the two countries." Lincoln's first inclination was to refuse to meet the Stephens Commission, but General Grant earnestly urged him to do so, however fruitless it might be, and Lincoln joined the conference solely for the purpose of preventing the Commission from returning to the South and declaring that the Lincoln Government would not even consider the question of ending the war. Lincoln had served with Stephens in Congress when Stephens was accepted as the most accomplished leader of Lincoln's own party, and when they met at City Point in 1861 Lincoln's humor at once removed all strained relations. Stephens' diminutive and almost fleshless body was encased in an enormous storm overcoat to protect him against the midwinter blasts of the coast, and when Stephens came into the presence of Lincoln and removed his overcoat, Lincoln's first remark was: "Well, Stephens, I have never seen so small a nubbin come out of so big a shuck." But for the fact that Stephens was bound by instructions from President Davis to consider no question of peace that did not recognize the Confederacy, Lincoln would then have proposed compensated emancipation to the extent of \$400,000,000 to end the war.

I met Stephens frequently after his return to Congress in 1874, and on one occasion had opportunity to learn how much he deplored the overthrow of the Confederacy, much as he was at first opposed to revolutionary action for its establishment. Governor Curtin had been a candidate for Congress in his home district, and was returned as defeated by a small majority resulting from a combination between the Republicans and Green-

backers, then a formidable power in many of the Northern States. Curtin contested the election of Yocum, who had been returned, and made out a case that his friends regarded as entirely justifying his admission to the body. With a united Democratic support he would have been given his seat, but there were a number of Greenback Democrats who were either indifferent or hostile, and it was discovered that Stephens was leading the opposition to Curtin's admission. I was requested to have a conference with Stephens on the subject, and met him in his room, when he discussed the matter in his usually frank manner. I saw that he exhibited some feeling against Curtin that I did not understand, and, after considerable conversation on the subject, he warmed up and declared that Curtin had delivered the most destructive blow to the South in 1862, when they believed that the North was on the point of surrendering the conflict. He spoke of the Altoona conference of Northern Governors, of which Curtin was the author, and he expressed the conviction that but for that conference the North would have been demoralized by the emancipation proclamation and the failures of the Union army, and that peace would have come on some compromise and honorable basis. I found him implacable in his opposition to Curtin, and he persisted in it until Curtin was largely defeated in a Democratic House.

Stephens did not overestimate the disturbed condition of affairs in the North in 1862, just after Lincoln issued the preliminary Emancipation Proclamation. The Army of the Potomac had been defeated in the Seven Days' battles before Richmond and at the second Bull Run, followed by a drawn and bloody battle at Antietam. Public sentiment was so profoundly impressed by the failure of our armies that the Government feared to issue a call for additional troops. Stephens believed that this was the one opportunity during the war when peace could have been obtained had not the Governors of the North met at Altoona and boldly proclaimed to the President and the country that an immediate call should be made for 300,000 additional troops, which they pledged themselves to furnish promptly.

Stephens' career in the House after he returned to the Federal Congress in 1874 was not notable for any great achievement. His physical powers were steadily declining, and he

rarely took the floor. He suffered a severe humiliation one day in the House after he had spoken on the question of civil rights, and was followed by Representative Elliott, of South Carolina, a full-blooded negro, and the most eloquent man of his race then in the South. It was the irony of fate that the Vice-President of the Confederacy, who had proclaimed to the world that the corner-stone of the new government was slavery, should meet and be matched in debate in the hall of Congress by one of the race whose bonds had been broken by the overthrow of the Confederate Government. In his feeble health he wearied of Congressional life, and Henry W. Grady, then the master leader of Georgia, and certainly one of the most brilliant young men of the South, arranged to have him called to the gubernatorial office, but in less than a year after his inauguration his steadily exhausting physical power brought him to his deathbed in the Executive Mansion, and on the 4th of March, 1883, he quietly passed to the sleep that knows no awakening.

## PRINCE HENRY AND OTHER ROYAL VISITORS.

Prince Henry, brother of the Kaiser, has come and gone, and he must bear home with him the most grateful memories of the hospitality and generous welcome of the American people. His visit recalls several occasions in the past when royal personages have been the guests of the United States. In the early days of the Republic we had little to attract the presence of royal visitors, and the first experience of our people in that line was with incipient royalists, who had at the time little expectation of wearing kingly robes. Louis Philippe was our guest at the beginning of the last century, when he was in exile, and had earned his bread for some time before he came here by quietly teaching under an assumed name. He was a favorite in the highest social circles of Philadelphia, as he was a graceful and genial gentleman, and tradition tells how he lost his heart to one of our beautiful damsels, but was rejected because he was entirely without promise of a career to enable him to support a wife and family. Thirty years later, in one of the then frequent revolutions of France, he became the Citizen King, but was overthrown by the revolution of 1848. His visit to the United States was one of mingled necessity and adventure, and as royal blood was then sadly out of fashion at home, he inspired little enthusiasm among our people.

Another incipient royalist was Jerome Bonaparte, who happened to reach this country as a very young naval officer in 1803. He was a handsome, cultivated boy, fond of society and graceful in the dance, and at a Baltimore ball he was introduced to Miss Elizabeth Patterson, then the beauty of that city, and, despite the protests of his brother, the Emperor of France, and of the parents of the young lady, they were married in December, 1803, when he had just passed his 19th birthday. The Emperor Napoleon promptly repudiated what he charged as the youthful indiscretion of his brother in marrying the "young per-

son" in America, and would not permit her to land on French territory with her husband. Jerome returned to France, hoping to obtain the assent of the Emperor to the marriage, but the promise of a throne made him forget his American beauty, and he never again saw his bride. The Imperial Council of State made a decree of divorce and Jerome rose to Rear Admiral in 1806; was then transferred to the army, and finally was made King of Westphalia by his brother, where he married the Princess Katharine of Wurtemberg in 1807, and reigned until the French were driven from Germany in 1813.

The first royal prince who visited this country was the present King Edward, of England. He was then the Prince of Wales, and was being carefully trained by his intelligent and methodical father, the Prince Consort, for the English throne. It was intended that his visit should be as unostentatious as possible, and while in this country he was registered and always presented as Baron Renfrew, that being one of his minor titles, and thereby he reduced formality and state ceremonies to the minimum. He was in the personal care of the Earl of Germain, and with him were General Robert Bruce, the Prince's tutor; Sir Henry Holland, his physician, and Sir Fenwick Williams, Captain Gray and Major Teasdale as equerries. He had made his journey through Canada to familiarize himself with his own people in the New World, and crossed over to Detroit, whence he traveled to Chicago, St. Louis, Cincinnati, Pittsburg, Washington, Philadelphia, New York and Boston.

The American people were not then as ready to give generous welcome to royalty as they are today. The United States was then largely a dependent and debtor country, and prejudices against the English were deep-seated and widespread. He received none of the great popular demonstrations which were accorded to Prince Henry, but in every city in which he was a visitor he was very cordially welcomed by the more cultivated society people, and his stay among us was made very pleasant. Buchanan was then President, and he was one of the most courtly of all our Chief Magistrates. He had been Minister to two of the prominent courts of Europe, and not only on state occasions, but in his every-day intercourse with others, he was scrupulously ceremonious. He invited the Prince and his suite to the White House, and had them three days as his guests, dur-

ing which they visited the Capitol, Mt. Vernon and all the interesting sights of Washington. Miss Harriet Lane, then mistress of the White House, was a very beautiful and most accomplished lady. She had been with her bachelor uncle at foreign courts, and her unusual charm of person and manner, with her genuine American vivacity, completely captivated the young Prince of royalty. The President would not even permit the heir apparent of the English throne to dance in the White House, but he enjoyed several dances with Miss Lane and others on a boat in going to Mt. Vernon, and at other places in the city, besides having a game of ninepins with Miss Lane in the bowling alley at Georgetown Seminary for Girls. Miss Lane is yet living, the widow of Mr. Johnson, who died many years ago, and her two sons, and only children, slept with their father before they reached manhood.

I saw the Prince of Wales on several occasions in Philadelphia, and one evening had an excellent opportunity to see and study him as he stood on the balcony of the Continental Hotel, surrounded by his suite, watching what he supposed to be the beginning of the end of the great republic. It was the night of the election in October, 1860. It was a contest of unexampled bitterness, as the Republican party, which then won its first great victory, was not in favor with the leading business, commercial or social interests of the city. As chairman of the Republican State Committee, I had my headquarters at the Girard House, immediately opposite the Continental, and watched the Prince as he gazed upon the uproarious and apparently revolutionary mob that crowded the streets. The Republicans were jubilant, as it was their first great victory, and the Democrats could not understand that the Government should be given over to the "Black Republicans," whom they not only opposed, but whose policy and leadership they despised.

For several hours the streets of Philadelphia were simply a seething cauldron of cheering victors and howling vanquished, and the Prince evidently regarded himself as fortunate in getting here in time to see the beginning of a revolution that was likely to prove too strong for the Government. He was doubtless amazed the next morning to find that there was not the sign of disturbance in any part of the city, and that business was going on just as usual. He stood well to the front for nearly

an hour as he watched the pandemonium that was exhibited on the streets, and I had an excellent opportunity to observe him. He had an unusually handsome English face, and his manners were very quiet and simple. His gait was somewhat shuffling, and he seemed to lack the vigor and stately pride of American youths. He conversed freely with the members of his suite during the time that he was on the balcony, and was evidently intensely interested in the what was to him singular spectacle of a genuine American election hurrah; but it was noticeable that the enthusiastic or desperately disappointed masses which sent up howls or cheers in the streets took no notice whatever of the royal visitor. No expression of like or dislike came from the swiftly passing mob, and he was thus enabled to view it as quietly and uninterruptedly as if he were the humblest of American citizens. He was entertained socially and given a ball by select circles of our citizens, but the masses of the people seemed to be entirely indifferent about the presence of the royal guest. He was also dined and balled in New York and Boston, and when he returned home he gave out the most pleasant impressions of our country and people, and royal thanks for our hospitality came from the English throne.

Eleven years later, in 1871, the Prince Alexis, one of the younger sons of the Czar of Russia, became the guest of the nation, and he was received with much more generous welcome than was given to the Prince of Wales. He was on a journey around the world, and it was an open secret that he was inclined to marry at home against the royal mandate, and his journey was understood to be chiefly inspired by the desire of the Czar to make a long separation between the lovers. The people of the North were strongly inclined to give enthusiastic welcome to Prince Alexis because of the positive and aggressive friendship that Russia had shown to our Government during our civil war. Strange as it may seem, the most despotic monarchy of the Old World was the only sincere friend we had in Europe in the desperate and bloody struggle to maintain the union of our republic. When intervention was seriously threatened by France and England a Russian fleet appeared at New York, and it is now well known that the secret orders, which were never opened because intervention was not attempted, directed the Russian fleet to espouse the cause of the Union. The people



of the North thus had grateful memories to inspire their enthusiasm over the Russian Prince, a son of the Czar, who was ready to make battle for our Union, and not only in select social and business circles was he made a welcome guest, but the masses of the people generally greeted him with the most cordial enthusiasm. Like the Prince of Wales, he visited Washington, was welcomed at the White House, and was the guest in turn of the leading cities of the country.

The ball given him in Philadelphia was altogether the greatest and grandest social event in the history of the city. Never before nor since has there been such an extravagant display of dress and jewels. It was not confined to any severely strict social lines, and fully 5,000 people were in and about the Academy of Music to pay homage to the son of the Czar. The shoddy tidal wave was then at its zenith. It was the creation of suddenly-acquired wealth in our great manufacturing and industrial circles, and it was exhibited at the ball given to the Prince to an extent that approached the fantastic. Jewels were worn in the wildest profusion, and often without regard for refined taste. The more cultivated social circles were easily distinguished in the mass that attended by their elegant but quiet dresses and almost total absence of jewels, but all were jostled in the great mass in their efforts to pay their respects to the more than welcome guest.

I had the pleasure of meeting the Prince at this ball, and to receive from him a personal message that Minister Curtin, then in Russia, had sent to me relating to the Prince and his suite, and it enabled me to meet personally all the Russian naval officers who were with him. He was of immense stature, stoutly built, had a full round face that always seemed to be wreathed in smiles, and he was willing to grasp the hand of every one who desired to pay their respects. He spoke English as fluently as an American, and seemed to be greatly interested in the progress and powers of our reunited nation. Neither he nor any of his officers hesitated to express their earnest sympathies with the North during our civil war, and all spoke in the most delightful terms of Curtin, who had then been American Minister to the court of the Czar for two years. So highly did the Czar appreciate Minister Curtin personally that he sat for a portrait to be painted in the very best style for Curtin, and pre-

sented it to him in a gorgeous frame when finished. It still adorns the parlor of the Curtins at their mountain home, in Bellefonte. While Prince Alexis and his suite had every reason to expect a very cordial welcome from the American people, it certainly greatly surpassed their expectations, as they were unused to enthusiastic popular demonstrations in the land of the Czar. They could not understand it at first, but when they learned that it was a spontaneous greeting from the hearts of the American people, they appreciated it profoundly, and most gratefully acknowledged it in every possible way. Thus the Prince Alexis broke the ice that separated our free people and free institutions from sympathy with despotic royalty, and the visit of Prince Alexis did much to temper American prejudices against hospitable welcome to royalty.

A few years later, in 1876, Dom Pedro, the Emperor of Brazil, accompanied by the Empress, visited this country unheralded, and scrupulously discountenanced any efforts to pay homage to Brazilian royalty. They remained here during a considerable portion of our Centennial Exhibition, and I met the Emperor and Empress frequently on social occasions—and in their every-day life, that was as practical, unostentatious and common sense as would have been expected of a simple American citizen. There was not the sign of royalty about either of them. He dressed plainly just as Americans dressed, wore a slouch hat, and he and the Empress often would go off to visit industrial establishments in Philadelphia before fashionable people had their breakfast. I first met them at the dinner given by the late George W. Childs on the evening of the opening of the Centennial, with President Grant and many of the leading officers of the Government as guests, and there was no man more simple in dress or manner on that occasion than the Emperor of Brazil. He came here to study our institutions, to investigate our industries, and to ascertain some method by which he could advance the industries, trade and prosperity of his empire.

The Empress was as simple in manner and habit, and as genial in conversation as was the Emperor, and Philadelphia never had two more welcome guests. He visited the editors of the newspapers without ceremony, saw nearly all the great industrial establishments of the city, studied our colleges and

schools, and in many of his visits to these places his royal title was entirely unknown. During his stay he maintained the utmost simplicity, and on no occasion did he ever exhibit a single insignia of royalty. Strange as it may seem, after he had spent months in this country with the single purpose of elevating and advancing the people of his Empire, his crown was torn from him, not because the people distrusted or ceased to honor him, but because of the unwillingness to have the sceptre pass to the heir apparent who had grievously offended the people of Brazil. This great man, certainly one of the best rulers of the world, quietly gave up his crown and power to give peace to the people he had so long and so wisely ruled.

The recent visit to the United States of Prince Henry, brother of the German Emperor, called out all the generous attributes of the American people. No royal guest ever received such a hearty welcome as was extended to the representative of the German Empire. On every occasion where he met our people he impressed them most favorably, and he grew in popularity every day he remained with us. There was nothing in the personality of the Prince of Wales or Prince Alexis to attract the attention of Americans. They represented nothing but royalty, but Prince Henry's personality called out most generous welcome in his intercourse with the masses. At the great press dinner given him in New York, where he met 1,200 fellow-guests of unusual intelligence, and representing a power that is omnipotent in our free institutions and that is almost wholly unknown in Germany, I was seated near enough to the Prince to observe him with care, and to hear him distinctly when he delivered his beautiful and remarkably politic address. He is of average height, well proportioned, elegant and graceful in manner, and entirely free from any of the frills which might have been expected from one accustomed to royal conventionalities. He has an unusually well chiseled and bright face, and when he delivered his speech his manner was quiet and his delivery impressive. There was not the trace of the German dialect in his English, and everything about him impressed the vast audience that he was a perfect type of a big-hearted, intelligent and accomplished American gentleman.

During the dinner he was engaged most of the time in conversation with the distinguished gentlemen who sat with him,

and any one not knowing that a royal guest was present, might readily have supposed that Prince Henry was a hail fellow well met with Senator Depew, Whitelaw Reid and others immediately about him. After having had an opportunity to see and study his general character and manners I was entirely prepared for the very enthusiastic reception given to him in every part of the country during his whirl around from New York to the Father of Waters and the Lakes of the Northwest, in which he seemed to be imitating Mr. Bryan's rushing political campaigns. He was the recipient of more ceremonies than any of the other royalists who have been with us, and he met the people in masses at the different stations, where he could give but a few moments to hear and acknowledge their hearty welcome, but in no instance did he fail to gratify in the highest measure all who came to pay homage to him. The journey demonstrated also the wonderful endurance to which German royalty is carefully trained. I last saw him in Philadelphia the day before he sailed, and, although he had been under a constant strain for weeks, his step was as elastic and his face as bright when he turned to wave his final good-bye to Philadelphians as it was when he first landed in New York.

There has been much discussion in newspaper and official circles as to the purpose of Prince Henry's visit. He came among us manfully declaring that his mission had no significance whatever beyond cultivating the good will of the American people, and in that he told the truth; but, while it was the truth, it is reasonable to assume that his mission had a specific and portentous aim in the interests of the German Empire. It was not, however, a mission in any sense antagonistic to the interests of the United States. The attitude of Germany, especially as presented by the German squadron at Manila in the early part of the Spanish War, was universally accepted in this country as unfriendly, and there is little doubt that, had intervention been possible at that time, Germany would not have been in accord with our Government; but since then the United States has become too big to bully and too powerful to be alienated from German interests.

The building of the Kaiser's private yacht in the United States, her christening by the daughter of the President in the presence of our Chief Magistrate, and the intimate personal re-

lations brought about by these wisely-devised proceedings, with the hearty expressions of friendship from the German Emperor himself, all tended to bring the Prince into the closest intercourse with our Government and people, and today Germany has simply emphasized her desire to maintain the most friendly relations with our Government by the visit of the Emperor's brother to take the American people by the hand in cordial fellowship. What Germany wants, and what Germany most needs, is an Anglo-German alliance—not by compact or treaty, but by standing up abreast with each other and winking an unwritten compact that the world belongs to the saints, and that Germany, England and the United States are the saints. Prince Henry's mission was one of peace, and he has certainly made the American people feel that they are more than willing to have peace and fellowship with Germany as long as that Government does not interfere with our now assured mastery in the West Indies and in the Orient.

## THE DEADLY STRUGGLE IN THE BORDER STATES.

History does full justice to the heroism and sacrifices of the people of the North and South during our civil war. Great battles were fought, and no war of ancient or modern times records more heroic achievements than were attained by both the Blue and the Gray; but the one class of people who suffered and sacrificed most have little part in the story of the struggle for the overthrow and for the maintenance of the unity of the Republic. It was easy to be a Union man in the North, and it was easy to be a Confederate in the South, but the men who struggled in the South for the preservation of the Union until finally overwhelmed and compelled to yield obedience to Confederate mastery, or become strangers to their homes and people, suffered all the bereavements of war with sorrows and sacrifices which will never be justly portrayed in the annals of the country.

The Virginia Convention first voted against secession by a decided majority, and a number of the ablest men, chiefly old Whig leaders, stood resolutely against secession until after the bombardment of Sumter, which was probably precipitated more to influence the secession of Virginia than to capture Major Anderson and his starving garrison. After the surrender of Sumter and the call of President Lincoln for 75,000 men to suppress rebellion by the invasion and coercion of the South, the convention met in secret session and adopted the ordinance of secession. There were many men who had been prominent in public affairs in the State before the war who resisted secession until they were compelled to choose between submission to the sovereignty of the State or come to open war with their neighbors and the new government that ruled them.

As a member of the Pennsylvania Senate in 1861 and chairman of the Lincoln State Committee, that had just won Republican national triumph by Pennsylvania's support of Lincoln, I was much disturbed by the threats of civil war which confronted

us when the Legislature met on the first of January. I was author of the motion that the Senate Judiciary Committee be instructed to inquire whether any of the laws of Pennsylvania violated, in any regard, the comity that was due from one State to another, and to report by bill or otherwise. It commanded the unanimous support of the Republicans, although some of them gave it with reluctance. This action attracted the attention of a number of border statesmen, especially in Virginia, resulting in considerable correspondence with A. H. H. Stuart, who had been in the Fillmore Cabinet, Alexander R. Boteler, Jubal A. Early and others, all of whom were earnestly opposed to the secession movement and intensely anxious that Pennsylvania should take some action to strengthen the hands of the Union men in the Old Dominion. One of the most earnest of the Union men was General Early, an old Whig leader, and a man of most pronounced convictions and actions. His letters were among the strongest I received against the secession movement, and yet he was one of the few of the Confederate military commanders who fulfilled his boast that he would die an "unreconstructed rebel."

The Pennsylvania government, Republican in every department, was prepared to meet the issue on the most generous basis, and to yield anything that did not involve the surrender of the issues determined by the national contest. In the midst of these efforts Sumter was fired upon, Virginia promptly seceded, and all hope of reconciliation by legislative action had perished. North Carolina was also slow to plunge into the vortex of secession, but when the war actually began by the invasion of the South, none was big enough to brave the tidal wave of passion that swept over the State. I met ex-Governor Graham, of North Carolina, at Raleigh a few years after the war. He was a member of the Fillmore Cabinet, the Whig candidate for Vice President with Scott in 1862, and earnestly opposed to secession. He was in the convention and manfully maintained his devotion to the Union, but he told me that when the secession ordinance was finally passed, if he and others who opposed it had refused to subscribe their names to it it would have been an invitation to violence and probably murder.

This class embraced a large proportion of able and cultivated people in Virginia, North Carolina, Tennessee, Kentucky and

Missouri, and even Arkansas first voted against secession and was one of the last States to adopt it. They not only had to suffer all the bereavements and sacrifices of war, but with them the war was carried into every social circle and even to the altar where all worshiped the same God. Thousands of lives, few of which are noted in history, were given up in the individual conflicts of neighbors in the border States, and the tread of opposing armies spread desolation on every side. It was not uncommon for father and son and for brothers to be fighting in opposing armies, and there was not a shadow that the angel of sorrow could fling over these ill-fated homes that was not felt by numberless families in the border States.

I have many times thought of the sad history of two of the most honored and beloved men of Kentucky—John J. Crittenden and George D. Prentice. I had often met both of them before the war and during the early part of the struggle, and I was most profoundly impressed with the earnest but hopeless battle that Crittenden fought in the evening twilight of his great career to avert fraternal conflict and restore the Union. I heard his plea in the House when he offered his celebrated resolution declaring that the South was responsible for the rebellion, and that the war should be waged solely “to preserve the Union with all the dignity, equality and rights of the several States unimpaired.” Like many other sincere Union men, he halted at the overthrow of slavery, and while he never gave his support to the secession movement, the emancipation proclamation of Lincoln estranged Crittenden, and the grand old man died broken hearted one year later.

Next to Henry Clay, John J. Crittenden occupied the most prominent position of any of the many great men who have shared the honors of the State. He was elected to the United States Senate in 1817, but in 1819 he resigned his position to devote himself to his profession in Frankfort, the capital of the State. He was again elected to the Senate in 1835, and re-elected at the expiration of his term, but soon thereafter resigned to become Attorney General under the Harrison Administration. After the death of Harrison he resigned his Cabinet office, and a year later was appointed to fill the vacancy in the Senate occasioned by the retirement of Clay, and at the expiration of the term was again elected, but resigned in 1848 after



he had been elected Governor of the State, which position he resigned to enter the Fillmore Cabinet after the death of Taylor. In 1855 he was for the sixth time elected to the Senate, and was the leader of the conservative Whig element of the South that opposed the repeal of the Missouri Compromise.

On the 4th of March, 1861, he gave place to Vice President Breckinridge, who succeeded him in the Senate, but Crittenden had been elected to the House, and he was simply transferred from the Senate to the popular branch of Congress, where he made his final stand against secession, but was unwilling to follow the Union cause when it became necessary to save the Union at the expense of slavery. I saw him frequently during the first session of Congress in war times, and a sadder man I have never met. He saw that his power was gone; that new occasions, new ideas, new leaders had come to the front to which he was a stranger. He had then passed the patriarchal age, as he was born in September, 1787, and his physical powers were greatly impaired, but his sorrow's crown of sorrow was in the fact that his two sons led brigades or divisions against each other in the bloody conflict of fraternal war.

His son, George B. Crittenden, was a graduate of West Point, served in the Texas revolution and in the Mexican war, and he reached a lieutenant colonelcy in the Union army, but on the 10th of June, 1861, when his father was battling for the preservation of the Union, he resigned his commission and entered the Confederate service. He was in command of the army part of which, under Zollicoffer, was defeated by General Thomas, at Mill Spring, but was not present in the engagement. He was censured for the result of that action, but continued to serve with the Confederate army until the close of the war. His brother, Thomas L. Crittenden, who was not an educated soldier, served in the Mexican war and was a volunteer aid to Taylor at Buena Vista. He earnestly opposed the secession movement, and on the 27th of October, 1861, he was commissioned as a Brigadier General of Volunteers in the Union army, and was promoted to Major General for heroic service in command of a division at the battle of Shiloh. He served with great credit during the entire war; was in the engagements of Stone River, Chickamauga and in the Grant campaign against Lee in 1864. He served in the Union army until he was retired on age in 1881.

Such was the painful position in which John J. Crittenden was placed when the civil conflict began, and, viewing it as he did, under the shadows of nearly 75 winters, with a long life of pre-eminent honor and usefulness to be ended in the wreck of Union and of home and in embittered conflict among his own people, what was there left to give heart and hope to Crittenden? I saw him only a short time before he left Washington, never to return again. His tall form was bowed and the lustre of his eye dimmed by the weight of years, but while he could not harmonize with the Administration, he felt that he could not give up the struggle, and he spoke of the disturbed condition of the Union in the most impressive eloquence and pathos. He had announced himself as a candidate for re-election to Congress, and was ready to make the battle, hoping that the starless midnight that overwhelmed him would yet break with a bright ray of hope for him to clutch in his efforts to save the Republic to which he was so ardently devoted, but the grim messenger of death met him in his struggle for re-election to Congress, and he found the peace in the grave that his convulsed country could not offer him.

Another of the great men of that day who had won national if not worldwide fame as writer and poet, and whose life was darkly shadowed with sorrow before he was summoned to cross the dark river, was George D. Prentice. Of New England birth and education, he had won fame as a political and literary writer in the early period of his life. He was finally called to Lexington, Kentucky, in 1830, to write the biography of Henry Clay, then a prominent candidate for the Presidency. Clay was the idol of the people, and Prentice's work portraying the ability and achievements of the great Kentucky leader was enthusiastically welcomed. It at once gave him a high position as a political writer, and he was prevailed upon in the fall of 1830 to establish *The Louisville Journal*, which for 30 years thereafter was one of the most widely-read and one of the most quoted public journals of the country. The keen witticisms, biting satire and withering invective of his short editorial paragraphs embellished the columns of all our public journals and were carried into nearly every household in the land.

Prentice was not only the most successful paragrapher of his time, but was one of the ablest of our political disputants. His

leaders were polished essays, and no man was more versatile in the discussion of public questions. Journalistic controversy was then an entirely different thing from what it is today. Personal criticism of opposing editors was regarded as essential to the life of a newspaper, and Prentice outstripped all his fellows in that particular accomplishment. While few knew him as an able, sober disputant, the whole country knew him as a humorist and poet, and some of his poems will ever be remembered and quoted. He was a man of the most genial and delightful companionship, the favorite of every social circle, chivalrous in the highest degree to those opposed to him, and his home was the altar upon which his wealth of affection was lavished. I had met him on several occasions before the war began, and, like all who enjoyed his acquaintance, knew him only to love him. Like Crittenden, he was sincerely and earnestly devoted to the Union, and when the issue of secession had to be met he opposed it with all the earnestness and enthusiasm of his nature. He was yet in the enjoyment of full vigor, with all his faculties unabated, and the earnest appeals of many of his friends to have him assume a neutral attitude only aroused his heroic qualities to their utmost intensity.

Prentice's appeals to the people of Kentucky and the South to avoid secession and war, and to end hostilities even after the struggle began, were among the most able and eloquent productions of his pen, and he certainly did much to strengthen the Union sentiment of Kentucky, which was many times on the verge of being overwhelmed by the more aggressive secession movement that was nearly or quite equal in numbers. His two sons had been born and grown up in the South, and both of them turned from him when he was so tirelessly pleading for loyalty to the Union, entered the Southern army and fought heroically against the flag so nobly defended by their father. Terrible as was the blow, he did not falter in his struggles to preserve Kentucky from Confederate mastery, but with his affections following the soldiers who wore the gray, the strain upon him was more than he could sustain, and he finally gave unmistakable signs of abated interest and power.

I last met him when he was invited to lecture in Chambersburg, where I resided, in the fall of 1862. He was most

generously welcomed. He remained several days with us, and I was with him much of the time. He had just been on a visit to Washington, where he had finally determined to support the Administration and all the measures necessary to the successful prosecution of the war. The influence and financial success of his great public journal had been seriously impaired by the confused conditions of Kentucky, and he realized that his life-work, the creation and success of a great newspaper for nearly a generation, was about to turn to ashes in his hands. When alone with him he did not conceal that he was sore at heart and almost engulfed in despair. With his sons battling for the Confederacy and he breaking under the weight of years and sorrows, attempting an almost hopeless struggle to maintain his journal and the Union cause, there was little, indeed, to brighten his life; but he had resolved to struggle to the end, come as it may. He saw The Louisville Journal steadily decline until finally it was absorbed by a successful rival, and the memory of Prentice and his great newspaper has since then been dimly preserved in The Courier-Journal of Louisville, that has long been under the successful direction of Colonel Watterson, today the most brilliant and versatile of American journalists. Prentice ended his editorial career as a contributing or assistant editor of the united newspapers at a nominal salary. Like the wounded eagle, he fretted his life away, and on the 21st of January, 1870, the days of George D. Prentice were ended with his last utterance "I want to go; I want to go."

Crittenden and Prentice were only two among the untold numbers of men in the border States who suffered ten-fold more than all the horrors of war which were visited upon those who could espouse their cause in harmony with their people, and give their sons to die for their convictions. There were scores of men who filled conspicuous positions in national affairs, whose fate was little less sorrowful than that of the two illustrious Kentuckians, but they had scores of thousands of followers of the humbler class who battled hand to hand with neighbors, and often unto the death, inspired by their devotion to the Union cause. The country honors its soldiers North and South. Great monuments have been erected to them in every section of the Union which now, with a reunited people, are accepted by

all, not as monuments of Union or Confederate triumphs, but as monuments of the heroism of the whole American people; but the large class in the border States that was in constant conflict and often in vastly greater peril than those in the flame of battle, has no monuments to commemorate the unfaltering courage of American manhood in the support of opposing convictions, often in conflict vastly more deadly than the thunders of shotted guns.

## THE TEMPEST OF SECTIONAL PASSION.

A civil war is simply a family or church quarrel on a greatly enlarged scale, and it involves an intensity of bitterness between the opposing parties that is unknown in modern wars between nations. The closer the ties of affection or friendship in families or churches, the more unreasoning and vindictive do they become when involved in actual conflict. Today the reunion of the States is as complete as ever it was in the history of the Republic; but the great churches which divided on the supreme issue involved in our civil war are yet estranged, without even the hope of early reunion. The students of today familiarize themselves with all the great incidents and achievements of the conflict between the North and the South, but they learn only of the heroic and ennobling qualities which were exhibited alike by the Blue and the Gray, while the fierce currents of sectional passion, bearing on their tempestuous waves the confiscation of property and the sacrifice of life, receive but passing note in the story of the greatest civil conflict of modern times.

Only those who lived and saw the inflamed resentments of both sides when civil war was first precipitated upon the country can have any just appreciation of the fierce resentments which were cherished on both sides, even by intelligent men and women, who were sincere in their religious convictions and devotions. For some years before the conflict began blatant demagogues were found in abundance on both sides who sought to gain popular favor and political advancement by studied appeals to the prejudices and hatreds of the people. They were but the whitecaps of the angry waves which disturbed the country, and they would have been harmless but for the profound convictions in North and South which permeated all conditions and classes.

When the war began belligerent rights were not accorded to the South, and for a soldier on either side to be captured was

accepted as dooming him to the severest penalties, and possibly to death. It was not until after the first great battle of the war that a flag of truce came from either side, and when a squad of Confederates came to the Union lines bearing such a flag, the question of receiving them and recognizing the flag had to be referred to the Government at Washington. Of course there was but one way open to the Government, and that was to recognize it. England, France and Spain had already recognized the Confederate Government as a belligerent power, and the necessity of the exchange of prisoners and the protection of the soldiers on both sides required that the belligerent rights of the Confederates should be recognized by our Government, even though it refused to formally declare them. I have heard General Andrew Porter tell the story of the first flag of truce that came to the Army of the Potomac. He was the immediate commander to whom it was first referred, and his description of the consternation it flung into the authorities at Washington, who were then compelled to meet the question of belligerent rights, was highly amusing. From that time until the close of the war our Government recognized in every practical way the belligerent rights of the South, without ever having risen to the dignity of confessing the recognition in any formal way.

So intense were the inflamed passions of both sections that in the early part of the war it was next to impossible to pay decent respect to the body of a dead enemy or to minister to him on his death bed. After the battle of Gettysburg, when Lee left many of his wounded behind him, a number were gathered up and brought to Chambersburg, where I resided, and placed in an improvised hospital. One of our leading physicians accepted the care of these sick and wounded, but no citizen of the town ventured to visit them. The attending physician finally called upon me, and suggested that my well-known position on the issues of the war would enable me to render a service that certainly should be given to these sick and dying prisoners, and I promptly accompanied him to the hospital, where I saw the condition of each of the inmates. One of them, a cultivated gentleman, named Colonel Carter, whose home was in Texas, was hopelessly ill, and evidently had but a day or two to live. He reached out his trembling hand to me, and in a feeble and tremulous voice said: "I am very glad you have

come; I want your assurance that I shall have a Christian burial when I die." I answered that I would accept it as my duty to fulfill his request, and the expression of gratitude on that dying face will never be effaced from my memory. On the following day he died, and I at once applied to the authorities of the congregation of which I was a member for permission to bury him in the church cemetery, but it was unanimously refused, and a like refusal came from the church authorities of every religious congregation in the town. I then announced that I would take a lot of suitable size on the corner of my own farm on the public highway and execute and record a deed conveying it in trust as the resting place of the dead Confederate soldier. I at once proceeded to execute it. Of course the matter was very generally discussed, and with much warmth in the community. The one issue against which I was fully protected was the suspicion of being in sympathy with the enemy. An active member of the Methodist Church decided that such a disgrace should not stain the records of the town, and he persuaded the authorities of the congregation to authorize the interment of the body in the Methodist Cemetery, where Colonel Carter had decent and Christian burial as he had requested. I cite this instance to show how the passions of civil war inflamed Christian men in those dark and troublous days, even to the point of forgetfulness of most important Christian duties. Had any other than a citizen whose position on the war was absolutely unassailable attempted to exercise these offices of humanity he would have been made a stranger to his home and people.

As soon as the Confederate Government was established in Richmond President Davis issued a proclamation of banishment for all within the jurisdiction of the Confederacy that did not support it, with notice that if they remained over 40 days they would be severely treated as alien enemies, and that was followed by confiscation laws and proclamations from the Confederate Government to be applied to all residents of the South who did not heartily support the secession movement. That policy was imitated by our own Government, and in a short time both the North and the South had sequestration laws which, if executed, would have stripped citizens of both sections of untold millions of property. When these laws were enacted and these procla-



mations given it was done in obedience to the next to universal demand of the people of both sections, and had any one in those days opposed the policy of retribution he would have been denounced as disloyal to his people. The writ of habeas corpus was suspended by both governments, and despotic rule was inaugurated throughout both sections.

When President Lincoln issued his first call for troops to suppress the rebellion President Davis only a few days thereafter issued a proclamation proposing to grant letters of marque and reprisal to prey upon our commerce, and a number of Southern vessels promptly accepted the offer, were duly commissioned and started in their work of destruction. The first of these to be captured was the Savannah, which was taken off Charleston, the officers of which were taken to New York, where they were tried for piracy, convicted and sentenced to death. Soon thereafter the Jefferson Davis, another vessel commissioned in the same enterprise, was captured and the officers and crew were tried in Philadelphia, where they were also convicted and sentenced to death. The announcement of these convictions and the death sentence passed upon the prisoners was promptly met by a proclamation from President Davis requiring that a like number of Union prisoners should be selected by lot and held as hostages for the safety of the condemned men, and to be executed as soon as it should be ascertained that the sentence of the condemned prisoners as pirates had been carried into effect. The Government did not execute the pirates, and later they were placed on the footing of prisoners of war, resulting in the release of the Union prisoners held as hostages.

While the intensely inflamed passions of civil war were very general throughout the country, there were several States in which the conflict between neighbors was carried to the uttermost, and every Union man's hand was against his Southern neighbor even unto his death, and every Southern sympathizer accepted it as his highest duty to murder his Union neighbor. Among those States Missouri was most conspicuous. General Fremont was assigned to the command of the Department of Missouri, and was given wide latitude in his instructions, but was expected, of course, to conform his actions to the laws of Congress and the policy of the Administration. On August 31, 1861, without the knowledge of the President, Fremont issued a proc-

lamation declaring martial law throughout the entire State; that all citizens taken with arms in their hands within the region occupied by his army should be tried by Court-martial, and, if guilty, should be shot; that the property of all citizens of the State who opposed the Union forces should be confiscated by the Government and their slaves become forever free. General M. J. Thompson was then in command of the Confederate forces in the State of Missouri, and upon receiving the proclamation of Fremont, on September 2, he issued a retaliatory proclamation, giving his "most solemn promise that for every member of the Missouri State Guard or soldier of our allies, the armies of the Confederate States, who shall be put to death, in pursuance of the said order of General Fremont, I will hang, draw and quarter a minion of said Abraham Lincoln."

President Lincoln, whose common sense never deserted him, at once saw that Fremont had committed a grave blunder. Had he followed his own inclination, he would have promptly relieved him of his command; but Fremont was then regarded as too strong in the confidence of the people to be summarily discarded, and Lincoln wrote a private letter to Fremont, immediately upon seeing General Thompson's retaliatory order, asking him to correct his proclamation, as of his own motion, to conform to the laws of Congress relating to confiscation and insurrectionary movements, and also to withdraw the emancipation features of the proclamation. Fremont refused to correct his proclamation as his own act, and the President then publicly directed that the Fremont proclamation should omit the emancipation clause and confine confiscation and punishment of individuals to conform with the national statutes. Soon thereafter Fremont was found to be utterly incapable for his command, and he was relieved, and succeeded by General Curtis, whose successful battle of Pea Ridge determined the Union mastery of the State and Government.

Price's followers, who could not safely enter the Confederate army, selected Montana as their future home, a territory then so far beyond the reach of civilization that they hoped they could live there in peace and dominate the Territory. The wealth of Montana was then just in its infancy of development, and for years Montana continued to be ruled by Price's soldiers. What is now Virginia City was named Varina, in honor of the mistress

of the Confederate White House in Richmond, but when the Territory was organized and a Federal Judge opened his Court in that city, which then had a population of 10,000 people, he summarily and arbitrarily directed that the records of the Court should be written as of Virginia City. I saw the Territorial Legislature there in 1867, and two-thirds or more of it had served in Price's army in Missouri. The Union men obtained possession of the State of Missouri, organized its Government, disfranchised every Southern sympathizer and it thus became one of the most radical of Republican States. Tides of passion run their course rapidly, and the more rapidly when most tempestuous, and in a few years Missouri liberalized her laws and restored all classes to citizenship.

In 1862, when General Butler was enabled to march unopposed into the city of New Orleans after Farragut had captured the forts on the river and his guns commanded the city, he was met by the most intense and vindictive Southern sentiment. The Creole element that dominated in that city was never in hearty sympathy with the Government, and Butler had a fearful task before him. While unfitted for military command in the field, as was demonstrated in every military movement he ever made, he was heroic in purpose and action and wonderfully fertile in resources. He was met in the most defiant manner by all classes and conditions, and after he had publicly proclaimed that any one who tore down the United States flag would be punished with death a man named Mumford, a notorious gambler and desperado, defiantly tore down the flag from one of the Government offices, rent it into shreds and stamped it under his feet in the street. He was promptly arrested, tried by drum-head Court-martial and condemned to death. Instead of pleading with Butler and giving assurance of law and order, he was flooded with threats of assassination if he dared to execute Mumford, and with Butler it had become a question of whether he and his fellow-officers and soldiers could remain with any measure of safety in the captured city. Some more thoughtful and considerate people urged him to reprieve Mumford, believing that his execution would inflame people to riot and murder, but he stood unmoved, and declared to all that painful as was the duty, he was compelled to execute the prisoner. He permitted Mrs. Mumford, with her children, to see him a short time

before the execution, and heard her sobbing appeals for the safety of her husband. He answered her gently but firmly that it was the one request with which he could not comply, and added that if at any time in the future it should be in his power to render her any service he would be glad to do so. He executed Mumford according to the announced programme, and thenceforth he was master of the murderous element of the city.

I spent an evening with Butler soon after his return from New Orleans in the winter of 1863, and heard from his own lips the story of Mumford's conviction and execution, and the circumstances which led to it. Butler was a strange mixture of malice and mercy, of wisdom and folly. He spoke of the appeal made to him by the heart-broken wife, and how painful the duty was to refuse her a reprieve for her husband, and I well remember his remark that seemed to come from the heart, that if ever it was in his power to render any service to Mrs. Mumford or her family he would be glad to do so. The sequel came some ten years or more later, when Butler, then in Congress, received a letter from Mrs. Mumford, written at her home in Wytheville, Virginia, reminding him of his promise, and stating that her little home was about to be sold. He immediately sent to the clerk of the Court for the record of the judgment, with its amounts and costs, and at once sent her the money to satisfy it in full. Nor did his kindness end with relieving her home from debt. Learning that it was impossible for her to make a living for herself and children there, he obtained a place for her in one of the departments at Washington, and when some years thereafter she was removed from one department he had her placed in one of the other departments of the Government.

The most notable order issued by any General during the war was what was known as "Order No. 28," issued by General Butler when in command of New Orleans. His officers and soldiers were daily insulted on the streets in various ways by the women of the city, and he finally issued the following order:

HEADQUARTERS DEPARTMENT OF THE GULF,  
New Orleans, May 15, 1862.

As officers and soldiers of the United States have been subject to repeated insults from women calling themselves ladies of New Orleans, in return for

the most scrupulous non-interference and courtesy on our part, it is ordered hereafter, when any female shall by mere gesture or movement, insult or show contempt for any officers or soldiers of the United States, she shall be regarded and held liable to be treated as a woman about town plying her vocation.

By command of

MAJOR GENERAL BUTLER.

GEORGE C. STRONG, A. A. G.

This order was naturally and justly resented by the women of the South, and was severely criticised in military circles at home and abroad. Demand was made upon the military commanders in different sections of the South to ascertain whether the order issued by General Butler was approved by the Government, but no answer was ever given. Of course, the order was soberly considered at Washington, and while neither the President nor any of the military authorities would have issued such an order, they all felt that the revocation of it by Butler's superior officers would impair his power to maintain order in New Orleans, and the order was permitted to stand without the formal approval or disapproval of the Government. It is needless to say that the order measurably or wholly accomplished the purpose General Butler had in view, but it was a humiliation to the ladies of New Orleans that has never been forgotten. After the Confederate Government had tried in various ways unsuccessfully to get an avowal from the Government approving or disapproving of Butler's order, President Davis finally took it up, and on the 23d of December, 1862, he issued a proclamation denouncing the execution of Mumford, and proposing retaliatory measures. The proclamation was an elaborate paper, and in it was the following paragraph:

"Now, therefore, I, Jefferson Davis, President of the Confederate States of America, and in their name, do pronounce and declare the said Benjamin F. Butler to be a felon deserving of capital punishment. I do order that he be no longer considered or treated simply as a public enemy of the Confederate States of America, but as an outlaw and common enemy of mankind, and that in the event of his capture the officer in command of the capturing force will cause him to be immediately executed by hanging, and I do further order that no commissioned officer of the United States taken captive shall be

released on parole or exchanged until the said Butler shall have met with due punishment for his crime."

Even Lincoln, with whom mercy was a darling attribute, was compelled to issue an order July 30, 1863, directing the summary execution of Confederate prisoners in retaliation for the execution of the colored Union soldiers. He proclaimed that for every colored soldier thus executed, a Confederate prisoner should be executed, and for every colored soldier sold into slavery a Confederate soldier should be sentenced to hard labor until the enslaved negro was released. A notable instance of the retaliatory measures then common is presented in the case of Colonel William Henry Fitz Lee, son of General Robert E. Lee, who represented the Alexandria District in Congress after the war, and died in the public service. Two Union men were sentenced to death as spies in Richmond, and the Government held that they had been unjustly condemned. The Confederate authorities refused to release them, and Lincoln then ordered that Colonel Lee and another Confederate officer, then prisoners of war, should be placed in close confinement and be immediately executed upon receiving authentic information of the execution of the alleged spies. It is needless to say that the work of death was halted and all were finally released.

If all the confiscation and retributive laws of both Governments had been strictly enforced and all the proclamations issued by the two Governments had been fully executed the loss of property would have been beyond computation, and our fair land would have been made one vast cemetery of the fallen in the conflict. Strange as it may seem, with all these intense passions, these terrible retributive laws and proclamations, I cannot recall a case outside of guerilla warfare, in which a prisoner on either side was executed merely in retaliation. It is possible that such cases did occur, but they were very few, if any. With all this tempest of passion that swept the people of both sections from all moral and merciful moorings, the soldiers of both armies always exhibited the highest respect and kindest feelings toward each other. I saw them on the battlefield of Antietam, Union and Confederate soldiers mingled in crowds along the little streams, pouring water on each other's wounds and conversing as fraternally as if they were strangers to internecine war, and

with rare exceptions the intercourse between the highest officers on both sides always exhibited the utmost courtesy and personal kindness. It seems strange that those who were in deadly conflict could sink their passions in respect for heroic foemen, while in no conflict of the century was there such a fearful reign of tempestuous and almost fiendish passion as was exhibited by the masses of the people on both sides during our civil war.

## SUMNER, BOUTWELL AND CHASE.

Few of those now active in politics have taken pause to consider how the Democratic party, when the anti-slavery agitation became formidable, brought into national prominence and elected to positions of power and influence three men who developed as the ablest and most potent opponents of the Democracy as Republican leaders. These men were Salmon P. Chase, of Ohio, and Charles Sumner and George S. Boutwell, of Massachusetts. Boutwell was the Democratic candidate for Governor of Massachusetts in 1849, when he was defeated; again in 1850, when he was elected by the Legislature, and again in 1851, when he was re-elected by the Legislature. He was then a young man, having been born on his father's farm in 1818, and by his own efforts had won high position at the Massachusetts Bar. Under the election laws of Massachusetts it was necessary for a candidate to secure a majority of all the votes cast to secure an election, and in 1850 the vote for Governor was 57,364 for Briggs, Whig; 36,363 for Boutwell, Democrat, and 27,803 for Phillips, Free Soil.

A very formidable Free Soil party had been organized in Massachusetts in 1848, in which Charles Sumner, Henry Wilson, Charles Francis Adams and many other old Whigs took prominent part and supported Van Buren for President. The Whig party of Massachusetts was very seriously disintegrated by the anti-slavery sentiment, and combinations were made in many instances between the Free Soilers and the Democrats. The result was a coalition of the opposition—that is, of the Democrats and Free Soilers in both the Senate and House—and as none of the candidates for Governor had a majority of the whole vote the election devolved upon the Legislature. A caucus of the fusion members resulted in the nomination of Boutwell for Governor, Cushman for Lieutenant Governor and Rantoul for the short term in the Senate, all Democrats, and Sumner, an old Whig, was nominated for the full Senatorial term. All of



the Democratic nominees were promptly elected, but some of the old Democrats in the House hesitated about supporting Sumner. The Senate gave him a majority on the first ballot, where he received 23 to 14 for Winthrop and 1 for Bishop, but in the House Sumner received 186, Winthrop 167 and scattering 28. The contest in the House was continued for nearly three months, but finally, on the 24th of April, the House adopted the secret ballot, and Sumner was elected. Thus were George S. Boutwell and Charles Sumner started in their great political careers by the solid vote of the Democrats of the Massachusetts Legislature.

Sumner was an anti-slavery Whig, and Boutwell an anti-slavery Democrat, and after the repeal of the Missouri Compromise in 1854 Boutwell was abreast with Sumner in opposition to the Democratic policy, and cast his fortunes with the Republican party. He was a delegate to the Chicago Convention that nominated Lincoln, and when the internal revenue taxes were levied for war purposes in 1862 Lincoln called Boutwell to the head of that department, which he organized in a thoroughly methodical manner. On the 3d of March, 1863, he resigned his position to take his seat in Congress, to which he had been elected, and he continued to serve in Congress until he was called to Grant's Cabinet as Secretary of the Treasury in 1869. He continued in the Cabinet until March, 1873, when he resigned to take his seat in the Senate, having been chosen to fill the vacancy caused by the election of Henry Wilson to the Vice Presidency.

I saw much of Governor Boutwell in the early part of the war, and all who knew him could not fail to appreciate his stern devotion to official duty. His organization of the revenue department as its first Commissioner was a great work and well performed, and he was then regarded as one of the safest Republicans of national fame in the then important councils of the party. He was chairman of the committee appointed by the House to report articles of impeachment against President Johnson, and was one of the Representatives of the House who conducted the prosecution before the Senate. His last public national service was his codification and editing of the statutes at large, to which position he had been called by President

Hayes. He is yet living, although considerably past the four-score mile stone, and he has never ceased to take an active interest in public affairs. Since the war with Spain he has been one of the prominent anti-imperialist leaders, and has very earnestly and ably opposed the acquisition of Spanish provinces and the present colonial policy of the Government.

Robert Rantoul, Jr., who by the Boutwell-Sumner coalition was elected to the United States Senate to fill the vacancy caused by the resignation of Webster, served the shortest term of any man in either branch of Congress. When elected to the Senate he was away out in the Northwest where railroads and telegraphs were unknown, and it was some time after his election before he received the notification. He hurried back to Washington and was sworn in as Senator on the 22d of February, and served until the 3d of March, making his term just nine days. The same year he was elected to Congress by the same fusion of political elements which had made him Senator, but he died on the 7th of August, 1852, before he had completed the first year of his term of service.

Charles Sumner continued in the Senate from the time of his election, in 1851, until his death, on the 11th of March, 1874. He was not the greatest of the Republican leaders, measured by the standard of mere political leadership, but he was unquestionably the greatest intellectual force of Republicanism. He was not a political manager; indeed, he was a stranger to all the arts and inventions usually employed to reach political advancement or to maintain party organization. He was first of all a student and scholar, and entirely without tact in the management of men. I doubt whether he ever directly or indirectly sought the favor of any of the legislators who so often elected him to the highest legislative tribunal of the nation. Nor was he ever consulted by the practical leaders of the party as to political expediency. He was a man of the purest character and the sincerest convictions, and always faithful to them in his public and private actions. While unobtrusive in general matters, he was the one man of the Senate who could be relied upon, under all circumstances, to assert himself regardless of the favor or disfavor of his associates or of political power if he deemed it his duty to do so. When President Grant sent his first Cabinet to the Senate for confirmation, embracing the million-

aire merchant Stewart, of New York, for Secretary of the Treasury, who was ineligible to the position because of his vast mercantile interests as an importer, Sumner was the only man who had the courage to oppose the confirmation because the law forbade it, and when Sumner gave his reason for objecting to the confirmation the Senate took pause and the President was compelled to withdraw Stewart's name.

The best efforts of Sumner's life were given in opposition to slavery. When quite a young man he sympathized and cooperated with Garrison and others who are known as the original abolitionists, but in general politics he was classed as a moderate and conservative Whig. When General Taylor, a large slave holder, was nominated as the Whig candidate for President in 1848, Sumner was in the forefront of the rebellion, and what was then known as the Free Soil party embraced a number of the ablest men in Massachusetts. Sumner was made chairman of the Free Soil State Committee, and he received the nomination for Congress in the Boston district, but the coalition between the Free Soilers and the Democrats had not then been effected, and Winthrop was elected over Sumner and the Democratic candidate. When he entered the Senate he was confronted by the strongest combination that had ever been made in the South, with a very large Northern support, for the extension and mastery of slavery. The Fugitive Slave law had just been passed as one of the compromise measures of 1850, and the repeal of the Missouri Compromise followed in 1854. The repeal of the Missouri compact of 1820, forbidding the extension of slavery beyond the northern line of Missouri, united the supporters of slavery to accomplish its extension and the control of the Government by the admission of new slave States and the election of pro-slavery Senators. The purpose and the methods by which it was to be accomplished were most carefully considered by the ablest statesmen of the South, aided by many of the ablest Democrats of the North, and the Dred-Scott decision, which speedily followed the inauguration of Buchanan, was regarded as the final triumph of the policy of slavery extension. The Kansas-Nebraska troubles convulsed both sections of the country, and thus Sumner had continuous struggle with the policy of slave power until it finally precipitated civil war in 1861.

No one of the Republican leaders, with the exception of Lincoln, left such a lustrous record of Republican literature as did Sumner. There were many of his Republican associates of less intellectual force who delivered much more effective popular speeches in defense of the Republican party, but the student of today who desires to see Republicanism presented in its purest and grandest attributes need only read the many speeches delivered by Sumner. He never made a deliverance in obedience to political expediency. He never yielded a hair-breadth of his convictions to maintain party unity or assure party success. He was an ideal statesman, and hoped and struggled to make his party and his Government vastly better than they ever can be made by those who are called to power under our free institutions.

By great odds the most effective deliverance made by any man to advance the Republican party was made by the bludgeon of Preston S. Brooks, a Representative from South Carolina. He went into the Senate chamber after the body had adjourned, found Sumner writing at his desk and almost alone, and struck him upon the head with a bludgeon, and continued his blows until Sumner sank unconscious to the floor. On the 19th and 20th of May, 1856, Sumner had delivered his great speech, entitled "The Crime Against Kansas." It was a most exhaustive and caustic presentation of the whole bloody Kansas struggle, and he assailed the slavery leaders as then engaged in "marshaling hostile divisions and foreshadowing a conflict which, unless happily averted by freedom, will become war—fratricidal, patricidal war." It was a dignified, but most pungent arraignment of the slavery leaders, and he was bitterly assailed by Senator Butler, of South Carolina, and others.

Butler was an uncle of Representative Brooks, and it was revenge for Sumner's criticism of Butler in running debate that inspired Brooks to play the part of bully and strike down with a club an unarmed man on the floor of the Senate. The intensity of the partisan feeling of that day may be understood when it is stated that the House refused to expel Brooks, but he was so generally censured that he resigned and was immediately re-elected without opposition. Sumner never fully recovered from the fiendish attack made upon him by Brooks, and his severe suffering was generally ridiculed by the Demo-

cratic press as the merest affectation, but it is now undisputed that Sumner was compelled to undergo the most painful treatment for years before he could even resume his Senatorial duties. I saw him when he was at Cresson, Pennsylvania, under the care of Dr. Jackson, and there and then learned for the first time how serious the injuries were. It was then believed that he could fully recover in the course of a year. Finding that he was not improving he sailed for Europe in March, 1857, and was absent from his seat in the Senate for nearly four years while undergoing the severest medical treatment. He resumed his Senatorial duties when Congress met on the first Monday in December, 1859.

I well remember the effect of the assault upon Sumner throughout the North in the campaign of 1856. It caused many scores of thousands of Democrats of natural anti-slavery proclivities to sever their connection with the Democratic party and unite in the support of Fremont; and even throughout the South, where chivalry is cherished as one of the essential attributes of manhood, the action of Brooks was generally, though not publicly condemned. Democratic leaders soon learned that altogether the most effective agent in defense of the new Republican party was Brooks and his bludgeon.

I saw much of Sumner during his long Senatorial term of service. He made his friends welcome with courtly ceremony, but those who wished to remain as welcome visitors had to learn not to trespass upon his time. His elegant dignity was never bent, and his wonderful accomplishments in statesmanship, diplomacy, literature, art and all that added refinement to human character gave him ample sources of enjoyment within himself. When I was an independent candidate for Mayor of Philadelphia he exhibited his interest in the cause of reform by voluntarily writing a public letter urging my election against the regular Republican candidate, a tribute that I have always held in the most grateful memory. He separated from his old associate, Boutwell, in 1872, when he supported Greeley against Grant, and when Boutwell was one of the foremost of the Grant leaders. In thus opposing Grant he was compelled to oppose his Senatorial colleague, Henry Wilson, who was on the ticket with Grant for the Vice Presidency, and who had ever been his devoted personal and political friend; but they were not in any

degree estranged by Sumner's independent action. On the contrary, Wilson made exhaustive effort after his election to the second office of the Government to restore Sumner to Republican favor in Massachusetts, and had Sumner lived a few months longer he would have been elected to his fifth term in the Senate; but on the 11th of March, 1874, the most accomplished of all Republican leaders was called to sleep with his fathers.

Salmon P. Chase, the third great Republican leader, who was first given important office by the Democratic party, was a man of great ability, a tireless student, and a rigid and earnest anti-slavery man, but, unlike Sumner, he cherished boundless ambition, and, like Webster, Clay, Calhoun and Scott, chafed through the evening of his life in bitter disappointment because he failed to reach the Presidency. He was elected to the Senate by precisely the same coalition in Ohio that was made in Massachusetts to elect Sumner—the Democrats and Free Soilers uniting—and he ranked with Seward, Sumner and Trumbull as one of the greatest quartet of Republican Senatorial masters in the early days of the party. Like Sumner, he was one of the original Liberty men, or abolitionists, and he was a delegate to the convention that nominated Birney for President in 1843. He entered the Senate in 1851 with Sumner, and four years later he resigned his place to accept the Governorship of Ohio, to which he had been elected. He was re-elected in 1857, and in 1860 was one of the several candidates prominent as competitors of Lincoln in the Chicago convention. He was a man of the sternest integrity, and thoroughly conscientious in the discharge of every public and private duty. He rendered a service to the country that can never be justly estimated by his management of the Treasury during the crucial test of our civil war. He had to brave, not only strong popular prejudices, but very formidable financial interests, in establishing our present national banking system, that for the first time gave the people of the United States a thoroughly safe currency. He saw many dark days when the credit of the Government seemed to be on the verge of destruction, but he struggled night and day, never despairing of the ultimate success of his policy.

As a member of the Cabinet he was earnestly opposed to civil war and preferred peaceable dismemberment of the Republic to fraternal conflict, but when the policy of the Government was

declared he maintained it with unflinching fidelity. He believed that he should have been elected President instead of Lincoln in 1860, and he was more profoundly impressed with the conviction that he should succeed Lincoln in 1864. His awkward efforts to serve his political interests as Secretary of the Treasury led to a gradual estrangement between Lincoln and himself, and finally resulted in his retirement from the Cabinet a few weeks after Lincoln had been unanimously nominated for re-election at the Baltimore convention. It was his purpose then not to support Lincoln, but finally when he found that the choice was between Lincoln and McClellan, who was nominated on a distinctive peace platform, he voted for the Republican ticket in Ohio in October at the State election, and telegraphed Lincoln congratulating him on the victory.

I saw both Chase and Lincoln at times when the question of appointing a successor to Chief Justice Taney was long under consideration. Chase was extremely anxious for the position, but he was greatly weakened and discouraged by the hostile attitude of the leading Republicans of his own State. Lincoln finally tendered him the appointment, although he is perhaps the only President in the history of our Government who would have appointed Chase under the circumstances. I know that Lincoln was largely influenced in favor of Chase by the fact that he might be regarded as carrying his personal resentment into a most important official act if he rejected him. In assuming the duties of the Chief Justiceship Chase was forgetful of the fact that the Supreme Court furnishes no Presidents, and he was more earnestly anxious to become President than ever before. In the Johnson impeachment trial he developed his opposition to the policy of the Republican leaders, and in 1868 he was a hopeful candidate before the Democratic National Convention in New York for the Presidency, but was defeated by the shrewd political management of Samuel J. Tilden, and in 1872 he supported Greeley against Grant. He did not attain great distinction as a jurist, but scrupulously maintained the dignity of the highest Court of the land, and his opinions compare well with many of those who have filled a place on the Supreme Court.

In 1870 he was stricken with paralysis and continued an invalid until the 7th of May, 1873, when he died in New York city. He was a man of kindly disposition, genial manners and

a delightful conversationalist. He was unlike Sumner in his love for discussing politics, but like Sumner he was a most accomplished student in literature and art, and a master in his knowledge of the history of the nations of the world. Leaving out Lincoln, no other trio of Republican leaders of the past could be made up to stand abreast with Sumner, Boutwell and Chase, all of whom were placed in the position of national leadership by the Democratic party.



## HENRY W. GRADY AND THE NEW SOUTH.

There are very many men in the South yet living who rendered great service to their section and to the country by their earnest labors to create the New South that is now just entering upon a career of great prosperity, but it is not invidious to say that Henry W. Grady, of Georgia, was the "leader of leaders" in the struggle to advance the South to the acceptance of its new necessities and its new and greater destiny. The war left the South wedded to its old idols, and few of those who had survived the bloody conflict were prepared for the new duties which confronted them. The transformation was revolutionary and in conflict with the teachings and traditions of Southern leadership and pride. The few Southerners conspicuous in the battles of the war who took the advance step at an early day to accept the inexorable teachings of the war largely forfeited the affection and trust of the Southern people.

Vice President Stephens, of the Confederacy, was among the first to teach the South the lesson it was forced to accept, but he did it with caution and maintained the love and confidence of the South. Longstreet was one of the few soldiers who appreciated the new conditions, but in accepting office under Grant at the beginning of his first Administration Longstreet greatly impaired the strength of his position. I saw him in Washington when Grant surprised the country by nominating him as one of the Custom House officers of New Orleans, and he spoke feelingly of the criticisms of his old friends, for whose cause he had offered his life, and had abandoned it only when it was obvious to all that the Southern Confederacy was the great Lost Cause of American history. Ackerman, who served a brief period in the Grant Cabinet; Mahone, who united with the Republicans as Senator; and Mosby, who openly supported Grant's re-election and accepted a foreign appointment, carried little influence to

liberalize the sentiment of the South in advancing it toward its new destiny.

The man whose name must go into history as pre-eminently the leader in the creation of the New South is that of Henry Woodfin Grady, of Georgia, who did more to advance the South in liberal and material progress, and to make the best qualities of the South understood in the North, in the face of the great cloud of prejudice that prevailed, than any other single individual in all the insurgent States. He was only 11 years old when the war began, as he was born in Athens, Georgia, April 24, 1850. His father fell at the head of his Confederate regiment in the charge of Petersburg, in 1864. His mother devoted herself to his education, and after graduating at the University of Georgia, in 1868, he followed with a two years' post-graduate course at the University of Virginia, thus completing his collegiate course in 1870, when just 20 years of age. Georgia, the Empire State of the South, had greater resources at the close of the war than most of the rebellious Commonwealths, and young Grady at once devoted himself to the great task of the liberal advancement of his State. He first established a newspaper at Rome, Georgia, but in 1871 he located in Atlanta as the Georgia correspondent of *The New York Herald*, and obtained a proprietary interest in *The Atlanta Herald*. In 1880 he became one of the proprietors of *The Atlanta Constitution*, and soon made it one of the leading journals of the South.

Soon after Grady located in Atlanta I engaged him as general Southern correspondent of *The Philadelphia Times*, and his contributions were among the best newspaper articles of that period. Although quite a young man in the profession, his articles exhibited careful study and unusual elegance of style. He rendered a special service, not only to *The Times*, but to the country, and to the correct history of the war, by aiding General Longstreet to prepare his first public defense of himself at Gettysburg. I was then publishing in *The Weekly Times* a series of war articles from the leading military men of the country, alternating weekly with contributions from Northern and Southern generals, and I was very anxious to have the then systematically suppressed issue between Lee and Longstreet at Gettysburg given to the public. Lee was dead, and Longstreet was silent. Lee had made no accusation against Longstreet,

and Longstreet could not take note of the innuendoes which were flung upon him by the friends of Lee, practically charging him with the loss of the decisive battle of the war. I urged Longstreet to write on the subject, but he refused for the very plausible reason that he could not discuss the subject except in answer to responsible accusations against himself. Count De Paris had not then completed his history of the civil conflict, and he was exceedingly anxious to have the Lee-Longstreet dispute brought to the surface to enable him to write that chapter in historical truth.

I had met Colonel Taylor, who had been Adjutant General on Lee's staff, when he was serving in the Richmond Senate. He was thoroughly familiar with all of Lee's campaigns, and naturally cherished a romantic attachment for his great chief. I asked him to write an article on the Gettysburg campaign without indicating any particular feature that should be discussed. I did not doubt that he would place the responsibility for the Gettysburg disaster upon Longstreet. He furnished the article, and for the first time a responsible accusation holding Longstreet to account for the Gettysburg disaster was given to the public. Longstreet was thus not only relieved of all obligation to silence, but he was fairly called upon to vindicate himself. Knowing Longstreet's lack of industrial habit, I instructed Grady to visit Longstreet at his home, remain with him until his answer was prepared, and to go personally to Richmond, New Orleans or any other part of the South to obtain any data that might be needed. Grady discharged his duty promptly and effectively. It required a week or more to have the article completed, and thus came Longstreet's first public defense of his movements at Gettysburg. The article presented in brief the statements given in his elaborate book, published a few years ago, in which he severely reflects upon Lee's direction of the Gettysburg battle, and clearly exhibits throughout its pages the fact that neither had entire respect for, nor confidence in, the other. The Longstreet article called out a number of severe rejoinders, and Longstreet gave me a second article in vindication of himself. That controversy gave Count De Paris the information he needed, and, as he gratefully expressed it, enabled him to finish his work.

I did not meet Grady personally until he had been ten years

in Atlanta, where he had most of the time been my chief Southern correspondent. In 1880 or 1881, when on a visit to the South, I spent several days in Atlanta, and most of it in the enjoyable company of Grady. He was then only thirty years of age, but was the master spirit of his great State. He made Governors and Senators almost without dispute, chiefly because he never sought to advance himself politically and acted solely in the interests of Georgia. The first evening I spent with him I was startled at his minute information as to the vast resources of the South and the great and strange waste in Southern products. At that time the propositions to use the by-products of cotton were new, and generally rejected by cotton growers as the visionary ideas of fine spun theorists, but Grady had then mastered the whole subject and gave me in full detail the values which must soon be gathered from the by-products of the cotton, all of which were realized within a decade. The cotton seed was then almost entirely waste, and today it furnishes nearly all of the so-called olive oil used by the country, and when the oil is extracted the fibre of the seed is now converted into food for stock. He gave me my first insight into the deplorable waste in baling cotton and sending it to Fall River in the far North to be spun and woven. He said the baling, pressing and unbaling of the cotton diminished the value of the fibre ten per cent., and that after paying transportation northward it had to be manufactured at a greater cost for labor than it could be manufactured in the midst of the cotton fields in the South. He had studied every variety of soil in the State, its adaptability to various crops and the profits which could be realized from their growth, and he enthusiastically predicted for Georgia that the next generation would see it the most prosperous State in the Union. He accompanied me to all the prominent places of the capital, and every door was open to him with the heartiest welcome from the highest to the lowest official, and he was tireless in his great work to impress upon them the advantages of progress in the development of the wealth of the South.

I was frequently Grady's guest at his modest but thoroughly homelike cottage, and I recall one dinner occasion made up of a small circle of Grady's prominent personal friends, at which the situation of the South was discussed with a degree of frankness that was most refreshing to me. The guest of honor was

Governor Colquitt. Ex-Governor Bullock and Colonel Kimball, both Republican leaders—Bullock having been the only Republican Governor of the State and Kimball had just been defeated as the Republican candidate for Mayor of Atlanta by less than one hundred majority—were among the guests. Political conditions, both State and national, were discussed without reserve between Governor Colquitt and Grady, leading Democrats, and Bullock and Kimball, leading Republicans, and their general agreement as to State policy was somewhat a surprise to me. Bullock and Kimball were both engaged in large industrial enterprises, each having charge of a cotton mill, and they were thoroughly identified with the business interests of the State. At that time I did not meet any Atlanta prominent business Republicans who desired Republican control in the State administration, but they were heartily in accord with the national organization of the party. All had absolute confidence in Grady, and at that early day they had learned to look upon him as the one man upon whom they must chiefly depend for the advancement of the material interests of the State.

One of the guests on this occasion was a remarkably well preserved gentleman who had braved the blasts of over eighty winters with his mental faculties entirely unabated and in the enjoyment of excellent physical health. He had lived in Tennessee and had seen Jackson and Benton attend the cock fights with their chickens under their arms; was an intimate acquaintance of Sam Houston's, and knew his Tennessee wife intimately. He gave us the story of Houston's marriage, with all the details which led to the separation and the later marriage of the discarded wife to the man she loved, and with whom she lived a happy life, surrounded by her family of children. He was a man of culture, a keen observer and his manner carried absolute confidence in his expressions.

The most interesting feature of the delightful reminiscences he gave was an account of his graduation at Harvard in 1820. He was very ambitious to meet the elder Adams, who then lived in retirement at Quincy, and he and several of his Southern fellow-students addressed a note to ex-President Adams asking permission to visit him before finally returning to their homes in the South. Adams responded by sending his coach and four to bring them to his home and treated them in the most princely

manner. After spending a few hours with the veteran ex-President, who stood beside Jefferson in presenting the Declaration of Independence, they were sent back to Harvard in the same grand style, and they all carried with them during their lives the most grateful memories of that event. On his way home he halted at Washington for some days, and had letters of introduction to Secretary Crawford, of the Cabinet, who received him with great kindness. Congress was then convulsed over the Missouri issue, and Secretary Crawford was profoundly impressed with the apprehension that the question would fail of adjustment and lead to secession and possibly to civil war. The compromise was finally successful, however, and he remained in Washington until the passage of the bill admitting Missouri on the terms of the compromise. There was universal rejoicing at the peaceful solution of the first great struggle over the slavery question, and he started the next morning on his way South. When the stage halted at Charlottesville for dinner he was gratified by meeting at the table ex-President Jefferson, ex-President Madison and Chief Justice Marshall, and had the pleasure of communicating to them the first news of the passage of the Missouri Compromise. It is needless to say that they were greatly delighted; and he had a brief and very agreeable acquaintance with the three great Fathers of the Republic.

In all my varied acquaintance with public men I have never met any one who was such an entirely supreme political master of the State as was Henry W. Grady at the time I visited him, and it continued until his untimely death before he reached his fortieth year. He was a man of the kindest nature, and saved many of the bruised reeds of the war by helping them to positions that gave them a livelihood. His mastery was not only generally accepted, but it was pointed to with pride by the great mass of the people, high and low. When General Gordon resigned from the Senate, tempted by the hope of fortune in speculation and failed to realize his expectations, Grady made him Governor of the State, and he performed the same kind offices for Colquitt and Stephens. He was not followed as are political masters of modern politics because he possessed accidental power, but he was followed because he was regarded as the one man of the State of supreme ability, who most unselfishly directed the political policy of the great Commonwealth. He

then overshadowed all the editorial forces of the South, as his paper brought him not only eminent distinction in his profession, but what he regarded as ample fortune that enabled him to give generous assistance to many of the needy.

An indication of the impoverished condition of the South is given in the fact that when Colquitt, who was known as the "fighting parson" of the Confederate army, was elected Governor in 1876 he came to the capital to be inaugurated clad in the best suit he could afford, but in Grady's judgment it was not appropriate to so important an occasion, and he promptly furnished the new Governor with a suitable costume in which to accept the high honor of Chief Magistrate. When Colquitt retired from the Governorship by Grady's influence he was elected to the Senate, and at the end of his first term, and within a year of Grady's death, Grady had to make an exhaustive effort to prevent the Legislature from electing himself over Colquitt. The leader who is capable of such sacrifices could well command the affections of the people of his State. Grady was then only thirty-eight years of age, and better equipped for a Senatorial career than any man in Georgia, but he was devoted to the old warrior, who would have been consigned to poverty and helplessness, and he peremptorily forbade his own election.

Grady was little known in the North outside of journalistic circles until 1886, when he was invited to attend the annual banquet of the New England Society of New York city. It was known that he was a capable speaker, a man of liberal Southern views and one of the progressive young men of the South, but his eloquent address startled the New Englanders and led them up to the highest enthusiasm. Never before had they given such a welcome to an orator at an annual banquet. He spoke for the South and for the North; he was manly, patriotic and chivalric in every expression, and his speech was published in whole or in part in nearly every leading journal of the North. In a single day Henry W. Grady was created throughout the North the foremost man of the South, and thereafter his name was ever lisped in the North with honest praise. He was at once recognized as an orator of national fame, and later he addressed the Texas State Fair on the problem of the South before twenty-five thousand people. He addressed the University of Virginia on Centralization, and his last one, one of his greatest deliverances,

was in December, 1889, only a few weeks before his death, to the Merchants' Association of Boston, who hailed him as the "National Pacificator." It is only just to say that Grady was then the acknowledged national orator on the relations of the two sections which had emerged from civil war. He was tireless in his work to advance his city and State, was one of the foremost men in the Southern Chautauqua scheme, in promoting the Atlanta Exposition, in erecting the Y. M. C. A. Building at Atlanta and in establishing a home for helpless Confederate veterans. I doubt whether in our history since the civil war any other man has equaled Grady in attaining national respect and affection and in accomplishing substantial usefulness to both North and South, and to him is the New South of today, now so rich in promise, more indebted than to any other score of all the eminently useful men of that section.

Grady was one of the most delightful of all the many Southern men I have met, and maintained proverbial Southern hospitality in the most generous way. He was of medium size, compactly built, with a round, smooth face that beamed with intelligence and every generous attribute of humanity, and his home was the altar where his sweetest affections were ever called out. Had he lived he certainly would have written the most lustrous record of any of his Southern associates, but on the 23d of December, 1889, before he had reached his fortieth year, the grim messenger came, and one of the noblest, sweetest and bravest of all the men of the South, or indeed of any section, passed across the dark river.



## WADE HAMPTON, CHIVALRIC SOLDIER AND STATESMAN.

The recent death of Wade Hampton, of South Carolina, removes one of the notable characters of the last half-century. He was the third who bore the same name, and all were alike conspicuous in war and peace. His grandfather, Wade Hampton, was a fellow-soldier of Marion and Sumter, a Representative in Congress, and was one of the largest and most successful cotton planters of his time. He re-entered the army as a colonel before the war of 1812, and rose to major general, serving on the Northern frontier under Wilkinson. His father, Wade Hampton, was born in 1791, served as an aide to Jackson at the New Orleans battle, and after peace he retired from the army to devote himself to his large cotton estates inherited from his father. His son, Wade Hampton, whose recent death has spread sorrow throughout the Palmetto State, was born in Columbia, S. C., in 1818. He graduated at the University of South Carolina, and later was admitted to the Bar, but never devoted himself to the practice of law. He inherited an immense fortune from his father, chiefly in cotton estates, on which were the largest number of slaves owned by any one man in the country. He was an accomplished sport, devoted to fine horses, was a famous hunter and fisherman, and regarded as the best shot in his State. He was a man of elegant presence, graceful in manner, courteous and genial in every relation of life, and was regarded as the very embodiment of chivalrous manhood. Such a character, with such heroic lineage, and the model of all the best attributes of manliness, could not but be a universal favorite with all classes and conditions. While of the most aristocratic birth and education he was always democratic in his ways, and never permitted the humblest slave to surpass him in the ordinary courtesies of life. These qualities made him popular with the masses of the people, who, in the conditions under

which he was born and grew up, found a wide and impassable chasm between them and the educated or ruling class.

While Hampton was always greatly interested in public affairs, he had little or no inclination for public office nor for political efforts. He served in both branches of the South Carolina Legislature, was an efficient and useful lawmaker, but he did not seek public office, and its duties were always distasteful to him. When great questions came before the Legislature, however, he asserted his strong individuality. When he was serving in the Legislature the question of reviving the slave trade was seriously urged by some of the leading men of the South, but Hampton delivered the ablest and much the most impressive speech of his life in opposition to the measure, declaring that it was in violation of every principle of justice and humanity to capture the negro in his jungle home and doom him to captivity by violence. These views did not command the approval of many of his prominent fellow-planters, but he stood resolutely for the right, and the effect of his speech may be appreciated when it is remembered that Horace Greeley declared in *The New York Tribune* that Hampton's argument against the revival of the slave trade was "a masterpiece of logic directed by the noblest sentiments of the Christian and patriot." He voluntarily retired from the Legislature at an early period of his life, and never after accepted political office until after the civil war, when he became one of the earliest advocates of sectional harmony and was called by the universal consent of the friends of reform to accept the nomination for Governor in 1876. He was impoverished by the war, as he lost an immense fortune in slaves alone, and when he attempted to resume his cotton planting without capital and with disorganized labor, his struggles were rewarded by bankruptcy, and he finally ended his career as a planter by adjusting his affairs in the Bankrupt Court, as did nearly all of his associates in the State, and in many other sections of the South.

In the fierce sectional discussions which were precipitated for some years before the civil war Hampton took no part. While he loved the South and had all the pride of its noblest blood, he was not an agitator, and earnestly and sincerely deplored secessions and civil war. He was reared in the school that knew only obedience to the sovereignty of the State. The pride of the

South Carolinian had taught him that his was the noblest and grandest of all the Commonwealths—an empire by courtesy called a State. The sovereignty of the State had been taught in his mother's lap, in every school he entered, from every pulpit from which he heard a minister of the Gospel, and the great statesmen, such as Calhoun, McDuffie and Hayne, had advocated it sincerely and ably. He saw the imposing walls and pillars of the Columbia Capitol slowly growing up year after year to be completed in the greatest splendor as the future Capitol of the Southern Republic, if the sectional issue should ever lead to the dismemberment of the Union, and he little dreamed that this magnificent structure would within his lifetime be hastily and rudely completed for a meeting of the South Carolina Legislature in which his own slaves would be his lawmakers; but even when this bitter humiliation came to him he had the courage to bow to the inevitable, and only one year after the war had ended he pleaded the cause of the negro, saying: "As a slave he was faithful to us; as a free man let us treat him as a friend; deal with him frankly, justly and kindly." Had the Southern men generally shared the broad and sensible views of Hampton the problem of reconstruction would have been an easy one, and the South would have been spared unspeakable suffering and sorrow.

When war came it is needless to say that Hampton was one of the first to offer his services, and he volunteered as a private, but before the company he had joined had been organized he was appealed to by many hundreds to accept the command of a special brigade composed of infantry, cavalry and artillery, and to be known as the "Hampton Legion." He commanded the Legion at Bull Run, the first battle of the war, and there as in all the subsequent battles in which it was engaged it bore a distinguished part. In the battle of Seven Pines on the Peninsula Hampton's command lost nearly half its members in killed, wounded and missing, and Hampton was severely wounded. After the Peninsula campaign Hampton was promoted and assigned to a brigade of cavalry under Stuart, and in nearly every important raid made by the Confederate cavalry with Lee's army during the war Hampton had an important part. He was regarded as one of the best cavalry officers for detached service, and was second in command with Stuart when the most

audacious raid of the war was made through Mercersburg and Chambersburg and around McClellan's army soon after the battle of Antietam. At the battle of Gettysburg Hampton received three wounds and a majority of the officers of his command were either killed or wounded. Perhaps the most important special service he rendered as a cavalry commander was when he checked Sheridan at Trevillian's Station in 1864 and broke up Hunter's campaign in the valley by preventing the junction of Sheridan and Hunter at Lynchburg. He was made lieutenant general and commander of Lee's cavalry in August, and he made a number of successful raids, capturing many prisoners and at one time some twenty-four hundred beef cattle from the Union army. In one of these raids his son, a gallant officer under him, was killed in action.

When Johnston organized his army in North Carolina to oppose the advance of Sherman northward from South Carolina Hampton was assigned to that army to command the cavalry. He was in possession of his home city of Columbia, the capital of the State, when Sherman advanced upon it, and retreated northward as Sherman's army entered. Before retiring he had fired a considerable amount of cotton that was stored in the outskirts of the city, and this gave some color of plausibility to the charge that he was responsible for the burning of Columbia. A somewhat heated controversy occurred between Hampton and Sherman after the war as to who was responsible for the destruction of the beautiful capital of the Palmetto State, but the weight of testimony certainly acquitted Hampton. He surrendered with Johnston's army to Sherman in North Carolina and returned to his home with the hope of gathering up some remnant of his broken fortune. From the day that the war ended no expression of bitterness or resentment ever came from Wade Hampton. On the contrary, he not only earnestly urged the restoration of peace and fraternal brotherhood, but was one of the few men in the South who appreciated the fact that the negro was not only a freeman but a citizen, and was entitled to be treated and respected as such.

My first acquaintance with Hampton was in October, 1862, when Stuart made his celebrated raid around McClellan's army then in Maryland. I was then on duty at Harrisburg as Assistant Adjutant General of the United States, but always spent one

or two days with Sunday at my home in Chambersburg. When I arrived at the Chambersburg depot on one of my home visits for a brief rest I was summoned by the telegraph operator to his private office. He had just received several dispatches from Mercersburg, stating that a Confederate cavalry force was then in possession of that town, and was moving in the direction of Chambersburg. It was startling intelligence, indeed, and it seemed incredible that a Confederate force would attempt to raid Chambersburg, only an hour's distance from Hagerstown, where there was a large Union force, with ample time and equipment to bring it to any point in the Cumberland Valley. I waited for an hour, and was advised of the progress of the Confederate force as it moved steadily toward Chambersburg. I telegraphed to the Union commander at Hagerstown, not knowing who he was, stating the facts and suggesting as a matter of precaution that a small force of infantry and artillery should be hurried to the defense of the town. In charity I will not give the name of the Union commander, who answered that the suggestion of a Confederate force entering Chambersburg was too absurd to be considered. Half an hour later the advancing Confederates had reached Chambersburg turnpike, and were moving directly upon us and only ten miles distant. I then repeated an appeal to the Union commander at Hagerstown, stating the facts and urging him to send a force to intercept the enemy, as there was yet ample time to do so, but the only reply was an intimation that military commanders had no time to waste on lunatics. Finding it impossible to get any relief from the Union army, as I could not hopefully communicate with any officer beyond Hagerstown, I went to my office and sat down to await events and accept the situation as philosophically as possible.

Soon after dark several Confederates appeared at the Western part of the town with a white rag tied on a stick, and announced to the first citizens they met that they bore a flag of truce from the Confederate army, and desired to be conducted to the Union commander of the town. As there were no Union troops in Chambersburg they were so informed, and they asked to be conducted to some citizens of the town with whom they could communicate the wishes of their commander. They were brought to my office, where they courteously announced that they were

there by orders of their commander to ask for the surrender of the city. I told them that there were no troops to oppose them, and that there was nothing to hinder them from entering Chambersburg whenever they chose to do so, but as this first invasion of the enemy naturally produced the wildest consternation in the community I said to the bearers of the truce that I wished to know what assurance of safety could be given to the people. I asked who their commander was, and was told that his name could not be given. I then asked where he was, and that information was also refused. I then inquired whether they could take me to their commander and assure my safe return. They said they would, and, accompanied by Colonel Thomas B. Kennedy, then a prominent lawyer of the town and now president of the Cumberland Valley Railroad, we mounted horses and rode to the front. It was pitch dark, and when we had ridden out beyond the suburbs we were finally halted, with the information that we were now in the presence of the Confederate commander. It was only barely possible to see that a body of men were in front of us, but what they looked like we could form no conception. When we stopped an officer rode up to us and announced that he was General Hampton, commanding part of the Confederate force, and that he desired to know whether they could enter Chambersburg. We assured him that there was no force to oppose him, and that we desired simply to learn from him what assurance could be given to quiet the people of the town when the Confederates entered. He promptly answered that they made no war upon private citizens and non-combatants; that the people should be advised to remain in their homes, as they would not be disturbed, and that no property would be taken from any one except such as was needed by the army. He then directed Mr. Kennedy and myself to lead his forces into Chambersburg, and in a very short time the town was practically filled with them. The people were at once assured that they had nothing to apprehend, and there was no tendency to panic.

In crossing the Centre Square a short time after Hampton's force had entered I was familiarly slapped on the shoulder, and, turning around, recognized Hugh Logan, then a captain in the Confederate army and the guide of the raid, as he had been born and grown up on the South Mountain in Franklin county, and

I had once successfully defended him when charged with kidnapping. He was one of the rugged mountaineers whose fidelity is equally rugged, and he informed me that I was one of a number of citizens of Franklin county whose names had been selected and given to General Stuart, who commanded the raid, to be taken as prisoners to Richmond to be held as hostages for Pope's arrest of civilians in Virginia. I told him that I had met Hampton, although he did not ask my name, and had his assurance that officers would be paroled, and that I was an army officer. He answered in a characteristic, terse manner: "Well, Hampton's a gentleman, and if you are taken and get to him he'll discharge you, but Jeb. (Stuart) wants you damn bad." Seven citizens had been arrested and were taken to Libby, one of whom died before his release. I asked Logan what he thought it best that I should do, to which he answered: "Go out to your home. We're in a hell of a hurry and you probably won't be disturbed, but if you are taken I'll put you out tomorrow night." If I had been taken he would have fulfilled his promise, even at the peril of his life. I went to my home on a farm some distance outside the town, and found my ten horses had already been conscripted into the Confederate army. I was not disturbed, and thus escaped an unpleasant journey to Libby prison and the necessity of an appeal to General Hampton for my discharge.

I did not again meet Hampton until after his election to the Governorship in 1876. At our first meeting we had a pleasant evening, recalling the interesting incidents of the Chambersburg raid. From then until the last few years I met him many times in Washington, and was always delighted to enjoy his genial and kindly companionship. He had been a candidate for Governor immediately after the war and before the Congressional reconstruction of the South, but was defeated by Governor Orr. In 1876, when the people were goaded to desperation by the licentious carpet-bag rule of the State, Hampton was forced into the campaign for Governor against Governor Chamberlain, who was greatly the best of all the carpet-baggers of the State, and who would have made reputable Republican government had it been possible. The contest was one of unusual desperation, but with all the power and machinery in the hands of the State authorities, sustained by the army, and by a State constabulary

that permeated every precinct, Hampton was elected by 1,134 majority. A State Return Board in South Carolina had the authority to revise the returns, and it bodily threw out the counties of Edgefield and Laurens, the first of which gave 3,000 Democratic majority and the second 1,100, by which it returned a majority for Chamberlain of 3,433. The Senators and Representatives elected on the Democratic ticket in those counties were refused admission to their seats, and the result was the organization of two Legislatures and the inauguration of two Governors.

Chamberlain had the advantage of being in possession, and I doubt whether Hampton rendered more heroic service even in the flame of battle than he did in restraining his friends from resorting to violence, when the election fraud was perpetrated, and driving the corrupt carpet-baggers from the State; but he held his people steadily to law and order, feeling assured that in time the right would triumph. President Hayes' assurance had been given that the Democratic State officers of Louisiana, Florida and South Carolina would be given their places, as they were undoubtedly elected, and after several conferences between both the disputing parties and the President, notice was finally given that the Federal troops would be withdrawn from Columbia, and that at once ended the contest. Chamberlain quietly gave up the office of Governor, and the Democratic State and legislative officers were admitted to their seats without further dispute. Having assured honest government in his State, his friends naturally desired to confer upon him the highest honors within their gift, and he was soon thereafter chosen United States Senator practically without a contest, and at the end of his first term was re-elected in like manner.

During his twelve years' service in the Senate he was always one of the most conservative and patriotic of Southern law-makers. He exhausted his efforts to suppress sectional strife. Not only by example but by every deliverance he ever made he pleaded for the suppression of sectional bitterness and the restoration of fraternal relations between the North and the South. He was one of the most delightful of all the Senators to meet in social intercourse, and his magnificent physique, soldierly bearing and honest face commanded the admiration of all who came within the range of his acquaintance. At the end of



his twelve years' service in the Senate he was overwhelmed by the agrarian Populist element that swept the South. He could have no sympathy with those who would destroy the Government credit that is the life of the Republic, and he had none of the arts of the demagogue to pacify the masses by promising them impossibilities. He could have retained his position in the Senate until his death if he had joined in the tempest of passion, but he was honest in all things, and he bowed to it, preferring to maintain his convictions, his integrity and his patriotic manhood to continuance in office. President Cleveland recognized Hampton's claims upon the country by appointing him as Commissioner of Pacific Railways, where he served with his usual fidelity until a change of administration deposed him; and since then he has quietly lived among the people who so devotedly and enthusiastically cheered him throughout his long career, and finally when he had faced the storms of eighty-four winters he was borne to his final resting place by the profoundly sorrowing multitude.

## THADDEUS STEVENS, THE COMMONER OF THE CIVIL WAR.

Thaddeus Stevens was the Commoner of our civil war. In the entire history of the Republic but two men rose to the distinction of Commoner—Henry Clay and Thaddeus Stevens. Clay was the accepted Commoner while he led the cause of the country in the popular branch of Congress during the war of 1812, and Stevens ruled as Commoner during our entire civil war. The Southern Confederacy developed no statesmen during that conflict who approached the dignity of Commoner. Yancey aspired to it, but his impulsive methods unfitted him for leadership, even with his pre-eminence as an eloquent disputant, and led to his untimely death in the forum where he hoped to win imperishable fame.

The title of Commoner is not generally understood in all its grand significance. Such a distinction is possible only in times of great national peril, when the conflicts of ambition are compelled to yield to the public safety, and no one can wear the crown of Commoner who does not win for himself the undisputed leadership in directing legislation for the cause of the Republic when threatened by civil or foreign war. Presidents, Cabinet officers, Senators, Representatives and diplomats may win position by fortuitous circumstance, and often without possessing the ability necessary to fill it creditably, but the Commoner must be completely equipped in ability, courage and skill to lead the cause of the Government and command respect and unquestioned following. Clay was the grandest of American Commoners. He was able, eloquent and fearless in disputation and imperious in action. He differed from Stevens in his wonderful magnetic qualities, which attached men to his personality and aided him greatly in his supreme command of forces, while Stevens lacked the personal charm of Clay and was always self-poised and ruled in grim and relentless mastery. Even Clay,

with all his genial qualities and beloved personality, had vastly greater dispute with the supporters of the Government during the war of 1812 than ever confronted Stevens during our civil struggle, but both have left a record of unbroken leadership as Commoners.

While Stevens' record during the war fills such a prominent part of the history of that great conflict, and has made his name familiar with all students of the great epochs of the Republic, there is no one of our great men whose general characteristics are so widely misunderstood. He was indifferent to criticism, and to public misconception of his acts and purposes. Unlike Clay, he never sought to popularize himself. On the contrary, he greatly hindered his political advancement in the early part of his career by his heroic devotion to the cause of justice for the helpless and lowly. Born in the chilly mountains of Vermont, on April 4, 1792, and having a desperate struggle to attain a collegiate education, like Lincoln, he never was forgetful of the needs and of the tendency to oppression of the great mass of the people. He earned the means to prosecute his studies for the Bar by teaching in an academy at York, Pa., and after his admission, in 1816, he located at Gettysburg, then a quiet provincial village, that was later destined to attain world-wide fame as the place where the decisive battle of the civil war was fought; a little town nestled between Cemetery and Seminary hills, over which the hoarse thunders of the artillery of the Blue and the Gray passed in their mission of death.

His first case in Court was as the volunteer defendant of an impoverished and helpless prisoner in the dock, and his ingenuity and eloquence at once won him fame, and he rapidly advanced to the head of his profession. He was elected to the Legislature in 1833 and at the two succeeding elections, and it was by his tireless and well-directed efforts that the first free school law was adopted in Pennsylvania. He was successful also in obtaining an appropriation for the Gettysburg College, and also for the construction of a local railroad, but he was defeated for his presumed extravagance in appropriations for education and improvements. When he was nominated it was generally accepted that his election was assured, and the Democrats chose a candidate who was obviously presented for sacrifice. To use Stevens' own language, as I heard him

express it, he said: "The only time I was beaten was when nobody ran against me." He had none of the qualities of an organizer, and, being entirely confident of his election, he permitted it to go by default, and was greatly astounded and mortified at his defeat, but a year later he was returned to the House by a very large majority.

He was one of the central figures of what was known as the "Buckshot war" in Pennsylvania. A disputed representative delegation from Philadelphia county held the balance of power in the House, and as both had more or less formal certificates of election, both took their seats, and two organizations of the House followed—Stevens adhering to the anti-Masonic side, whose Representatives from Philadelphia county were not entitled to their seats as is now generally accepted. When the Senate recognized the Hopkins House, to which Stevens was opposed, he refused to qualify as a member, and when he announced his refusal the House declared his seat vacant, although he had qualified under the opposing Speaker. He returned to his people, was re-elected by the largest majority ever given to him, and then resumed his seat and qualified under the Hopkins organization. He was a delegate to the Constitutional Convention of 1838, and was one of the most influential and useful members of the body, but he refused to sign the new fundamental law because it contained the word "white" in conferring suffrage upon the people of the State.

After the free school law had been enacted in Pennsylvania it was met with a storm of popular opposition, and the next House was strongly inclined to repeal it. It was not doubted that a majority of the members were elected under pledges to efface it from our statutes. The friends of the measure had practically given up the contest, when just before the final vote was taken Stevens arose and delivered what was certainly one of the greatest, if not the greatest, arguments of his life. He had wonderful skill as a practitioner at the Bar, and while few, if any, equaled him in wit and sarcasm, he always knew when and how to employ them, and when not to summon them. I have heard most of his great contemporaries at the Bar in the trial of important cases, and in a humble way had experience with Stevens at the Bar both with him and against him, and I never knew a man who so well understood how to make an effective appeal

to the intelligence or to the ignorance or prejudice of jurors. His great speech in defense of free schools was one of the most earnest and searching appeals to the considerate judgment of the members of the House that ever was delivered in our legislative halls, and to the surprise of both the friends and foes of the bill its repeal was defeated. The last time I saw Stevens, at his home in Washington, only a few weeks before his death, he spoke of that speech and that achievement as the brightest record of his life. Only a short time before he had that speech reprinted in pamphlet form and gave me a copy. He returned to the House in 1841, and that ended his legislative career in Pennsylvania.

The practice of law in Gettysburg gave him but moderate compensation, and he engaged in the manufacture of iron, resulting in practical bankruptcy. Finding it necessary to retrieve his financial condition by obtaining greater returns for his law practice, he removed to Lancaster in 1844, where he at once took position at the head of the Bar, and in 1848 he was elected to Congress by the Whigs and re-elected in 1850. His speeches in the House against the Compromise measures were not only among the ablest but certainly the most impassioned of all his political deliverances, and he was so thoroughly disgusted with what seemed to be the complete triumph of the slave power that he voluntarily retired from Congress in 1853 to devote himself to his profession. He was still involved in debt by his unprofitable Caledonia furnace, in Franklin county. He often thought of abandoning it, and I remember on one occasion when he had gone out to his furnace to look things over he returned to Chambersburg and told me that he was strongly inclined to close the concern, but his manager told him that the wood choppers and others were entirely dependent upon the furnace, and he thought he could manage to get money enough out of it to pay them and concluded to "let the thing go on." His iron works were destroyed by the Confederates in 1863, and he never during his life time realized any profit from them.

In 1858 Stevens was encouraged by the Democratic defection over the repeal of the Missouri Compromise and the temporary success of the American movement to hope for the election of an anti-slavery House. This inspired him to seek the nomination for Congress, which he won after an earnest battle with

a number of competitors. He was re-elected in 1860, and was a delegate to the Chicago convention that made Lincoln the candidate for President. He was not an original Lincoln man, nor was he sincerely for Cameron, for whom he had accepted instructions, but insisted, as he told me on our way to Chicago, that the true policy of the party was to disarm the conservative opposition element by the nomination of Judge McLean, and added: "Of course, McLean is too old and wouldn't live through his Presidential term, but we can nominate a vigorous young Republican for Vice President and McLean will pull him through."

In 1861 when war came there were a number of Republicans in the House who were riper in Congressional experience than Stevens, but Grow, who was Stevens' choice, was elected Speaker, and Stevens was made chairman of Ways and Means and thus formally indicated as the leader of the House. If ordinary conditions had remained there would have been no occasion for a Commoner, and Stevens would have been a leader with other disputing leaders and the conflicts of ambition which are so often seen in both branches of Congress; but when civil war came the country was appalled beyond expression, and time-serving and mean ambition were compelled to yield obedience to the supreme necessities which confronted the country. It was most natural that with the universal desire to avoid fraternal conflict men of ability and sincerity should exhaust all possible resources to avoid war, and a flood of compromise measures came when Congress met on the Fourth of July, 1861; but Stevens met them all with a courage and vigor that speedily stamped him as the master leader of the cause that had won before the great tribunal of the people in 1860. In one of his speeches discussing the proposition of compromise he said: "Rather than show repentance for the election of Mr. Lincoln, with all its consequences, I would see this Government crumbled into a thousand atoms. If I cannot be a free-man let me cease to exist."

But for the solemnity of the occasion and the magnitude of the issue, there is little doubt that Stevens' leadership would have been desperately contested, for he was until that period regarded as unapproached in leading an opposition and not equipped to lead a majority, but he represented in himself and

in his long career the issue of the hour in its most vital form, and Mr. Blaine well said: "Stevens was the natural leader, who assumed his place by common consent." He surprised many who regarded him as wayward and fitful in leadership by his uniformly conservative and consistent action in supporting the Government, and on all questions relating to secession, and all questions growing out of the war, Stevens ever stood squarely and manfully for the supremacy of law. Many believed that he was one of the desperate abolitionists whose aims and purposes could be best expressed by the quotation: "Damn the Constitution;" but in every issue between law and expediency, or law and necessity, Stevens loomed up as the most conscientious and masterly exponent of the law, and earnestly urged obedience to it.

On the question of issuing the legal tender currency grave doubts were entertained as to the constitutional power of Congress to issue such bills, but while Stevens declared the bill "a measure of necessity, not of choice," he gave the clearest defense of the policy of legal tender paper based upon the Constitution and the law. The objection was heard all around him that no such power was expressed in the Constitution, but to this Stevens answered: "If nothing could be done by Congress except what is enumerated in the Constitution, the Government could not live a week."

When the proposition was made to blockade our own ports Stevens earnestly protested, declaring that there was no law to warrant us in blockading any but the ports of an enemy, and that to blockade our own ports practically involved the official recognition of the Confederacy. He favored and strongly urged upon Congress the necessity of abolishing the ports of entry in the various Southern ports, declaring that the law would then blockade them, and "respect for that law is safer than fleets." That he was right, judging from a strictly legal standpoint, cannot be questioned, for, had we declared Charleston and other Southern cities no longer ports of entry, no foreign vessel could have entered them to trade with the enemy without making it an act of war; but Stevens was overruled by the fact that France and England, and especially France, were more than willing to find some plausible excuse for recognizing the Southern Confederacy and thus involving us in foreign war. It was that

conviction, and that alone, that finally made Stevens yield the law, not to expediency so much as to necessity.

Again, on the question of the admission of West Virginia, Stevens favored the measure and justified it as within the powers conferred upon Congress by the Constitution because by the secession of Virginia the State had withdrawn from the protection of the Constitution, and Congress, under the Constitution, could deal with the Territory of Virginia as with any other unorganized territory of the Union. He admitted that if Virginia was within the protecting powers of the Constitution the admission of West Virginia was clearly prohibited by the fundamental law, but he held every Southern State that seceded, alike during the war and during the reconstruction period, as being absolutely outside the fold of the Union and subject to government as provinces or territory conquered by the Union army.

He was a man of the most earnest convictions and sternness of purpose, and he believed that confiscation was not only the right but the duty of the Government, and pressed that policy until it was entirely overruled by reconstruction. He held that the Confederates represented a government of belligerents; that they were subject to the laws of war alone, and he insisted upon the usually accepted policy of war between nations of making the vanquished pay the conqueror for the expenses of the war. He was the early advocate of engaging the slaves as soldiers, and for the abolition of slavery and the enfranchisement of the freedmen. He carried through the House a bill at an early day abolishing slavery in the District of Columbia, and later a bill to give the right of suffrage to the negroes of Washington, regardless of any standard of intelligence or property.

In all my long observation of public men I never saw such an exhibition of imperious authority as that exhibited by Stevens when the question was before the House conferring franchise upon the negroes of Washington. On the day the bill was to come up for final passage I was sitting with Stevens in the House some time before its opening in the morning, and while conversing with him a prominent Pennsylvania Republican, whom I knew well, came up to Stevens and made an appeal to him to give qualified suffrage only in the first bill that was to be passed extending the franchise to negroes. Stevens' brow



was instantly knit and he turned his cold gray eye upon his fellow-Congressman, and with language much more emphatic than polite bade him go to his seat and vote for the bill or take the consequences of voting against it. The man knew that a word from Stevens charging him with having faltered in the cause would destroy him, and in silence he retired and gave his vote for the bill.

It is a fact not now generally known that a large portion of the Republicans shuddered at negro suffrage. They would gladly have voted to limit suffrage in Washington to intelligence and property qualifications, but Stevens outgeneraled them by a compact with Fernando Wood, the Democratic leader of the House. He appealed to Wood to unite the Democrats with him to defeat the qualified suffrage amendment for the reason, as Stevens said to Wood: "You don't believe in negro suffrage at all, and you ought to be satisfied to make it as odious as possible by conferring it upon the most ignorant." Wood was glad to serve Stevens personally, for their relations were exceedingly pleasant, and he saw the advantage of having the opportunity to assail universal suffrage as conferred upon a host of illiterate negroes in the capital city of the nation, and it was by this combination that Stevens secured unqualified negro suffrage.

When the final rupture came with Johnson, Stevens stood upon the broad constitutional right that the insurgent States were out of the Union and beyond its protecting power, and that only Congress, and not the President, could reorganize the insurgent territory into States or Territories as Congress might deem best. President Johnson vehemently assailed Stevens for his criticism of the Presidential assumption to reorganize the Southern States, and in a public speech he named Stevens with Sumner and Wendell Phillips as men who were defying not only the Government, but the Constitution and the laws. In a later speech, delivered in Cleveland, the President said: "Why not hang Thad Stevens and Wendell Phillips?" When the question of universal suffrage in the South was before Congress Stevens advocated it with all the earnestness of his nature, and declared to the House: "I must have forgotten the obloquy which I have calmly borne for thirty years in the war for liberty if I should turn craven now."

He was also author of the Fourteenth Amendment, reported

to the House on the 30th of April, 1866. In his last great speech in defense of the rights of the negro he evidently felt that he was nearing the end of his great life. He said that there was nothing in his public course relating to human freedom that he could wish to have expunged or changed, and he added: "I believe that we must all account hereafter for deeds done in the body, and that political deed will be among those accounts. I desire to take to the bar of that final settlement the record which I shall this day make on the great question of human rights."

Thus from the beginning to the close of the civil war and of reconstruction, Thaddeus Stevens was the acknowledged Commoner of the Republic. His last important deliverance was his argument before the Senate sitting as a Court of Impeachment to try President Johnson, but he was so feeble that he sat in a chair while delivering part of it, and had most of it read by another. His vitality gradually wasted away until the 11th of August, 1868, when he quietly passed away. Three days later the Republican primary elections were held in his home county of Lancaster, and his name was on the ticket for renomination for Congress. His body was brought home, and lay in state on the day before the primaries in his own house. It was known three days before that election that the great Commoner had gone to his final account, but no man dared to offer his name to the people as Stevens' successor while his body was untombed, and the dead Commoner received the grandest tribute ever paid to his great career by the unanimous vote of his people to renominate him for Congress when his spirit, that never was mastered in life, had gone to its final Judge.

## ROBERT G. INGERSOLL, THE GREAT AGNOSTIC OF THE CENTURY.

No other name was so widely and so earnestly discussed in the homes of the land during the last half century as that of Robert G. Ingersoll. At the time of his death he was the most eminent opponent of revelation in this or any other country, and his importance was greatly magnified by the tendency of pulpit disputants to engage in public controversy with those who questioned revealed religion. He was one of the ablest and most successful popular disputants the nation ever produced, and he was as incisive and logical as he was eloquent. He was an able lawyer, and, with his masterly power of analysis and his complete historical knowledge, he always had the usually untrained clerical disputants at a disadvantage, and I believe that, with the added importance given to him by this unwise clerical controversy, he did more to unsettle belief in revelation than all the other teachers of unbelief during the last century.

Strange as it may seem, Ingersoll was the son of a Congregational clergyman, and he was born in Dresden, New York, on the 11th of August, 1833. His father was a minister of unusually broad views for that day, which at times caused some dissension in his parish, but never reached the point of causing a severance between pastor and flock. The family moved to Illinois when Robert was 10 years of age. He acquired a fair education, studied law, and when admitted to the Bar located in Shawneetown, Ill., to practice with his brother, Eben. Both took an active part in politics, and, finally, in 1857, they moved to Peoria, where they soon rose to distinction as members of the Bar, and Robert was prominent as a Democratic leader, while Eben was equally prominent as a Republican leader.

In 1860 Robert was the Democratic candidate for Congress, but was defeated, and four years later his brother Eben was elected to Congress in the same district, to fill the vacancy created by the death of Owen Lovejoy, and was thrice re-elected,

serving from 1864 to 1871. When civil war came Robert entered the Union service as Colonel of the Eleventh Illinois Cavalry, and his war experience speedily transformed him into an aggressive Republican. In 1866 he became the Republican Attorney General of the State, but until 1876 it could not be said of him that he had attained a national reputation. He was well known within his State, but had seldom, if ever, been heard in the East. He had on several occasions delivered public addresses in which, in very cautious manner, he questioned the acceptance of revelation, but he was not generally known as a champion of unbelief.

I attended the Cincinnati Convention in 1876, and was surprised to learn that the important task of presenting Blaine as a candidate to the convention had been assigned to Robert G. Ingersoll. I could not recall that I had ever heard his name mentioned, although I had known his brother Eben as an able and efficient Republican Congressman. Indeed, there was general surprise among Blaine's friends, especially in the East, that a man unknown to fame had been selected by Blaine himself to make the presentation speech. A large majority of the delegates and spectators at the convention had never seen or heard of Ingersoll, and his appearance was looked for with unusual interest, as it was generally assumed that Blaine well understood who could best advocate his claims to the Presidency before an eminently able representative body. The convention was sincerely in sympathy with Blaine, and a majority of the delegates really desired his nomination. In fact, a majority of the delegates voted for Blaine at one time or another, but never on the same ballot. The Pennsylvania delegation was held in leading strings by Cameron, then Secretary of War, who was chairman of the delegation, and who had carried instructions for Hartranft for President, solely for the purpose of taking the large Pennsylvania vote from Blaine, and other delegates friendly to Blaine were hindered from coming to him in time to effect his nomination. It was a Blaine convention, however, and a body of delegates devoted to so magnetic a leader as Blaine could not but be most enthusiastic in his cause.

When President McPherson announced that the name of James G. Blaine would now be presented to the convention by

Robert G. Ingersoll there was instant silence throughout the large assembly as Ingersoll came forward with elastic step and beaming face to plead the cause of the man whom he then and there made known to the country and the world as the "Plumed Knight" of Republicanism. Ingersoll was perfectly self-possessed, and his round, smoothly-shaven face, flashing eye and benignant expression at once gave promise of an unusually forceful address. He had not spoken five minutes until he had the convention wrought up to the wildest enthusiasm, and he was halted time and again in his impressive sentences by the cheers which arose and echoed through the large auditorium; and when he closed there was not a friend or foe of Blaine in the convention who did not feel that Blaine must win an easy triumph.

I have heard nearly all the great speeches made in national conventions during the last half-century, and recall but five which made imperishable impressions, and the greatest of these was that of Ingersoll nominating Blaine. I never before or since heard a public speech that approached it in the grandeur of eloquence and in the magnitude of forcefulness, and I believe that it is now accepted as the greatest political address delivered in the history of American politics. I well remember the criticism I made upon it at the time, saying that I now understood how the immortal speech of Patrick Henry declaring "Give me liberty or give me death" might have been as impressive as it has been represented. I heard Conkling, who was a man of greater intellectual force than Ingersoll, deliver the most memorable speech of his life, presenting the name of Grant to the national convention in Chicago in 1880, but grand and eloquent and impressive as was the deliverance of Conkling, it did not approach the impressiveness of Ingersoll's presentation of Blaine.

Dougherty delivered the most elegant and inspiring oration of his life presenting the name of Hancock to the Democratic National Convention in Cincinnati in 1880, but it was a beautiful poem compared with the trip-hammer persuasiveness of Ingersoll. Cockran won national fame in the Democratic Convention of 1892 when, backed by the solid delegation of his State against Cleveland, he delivered a protest against Cleveland's nomination that greatly staggered the Cleveland forces, and would have defeated Cleveland's nomination had a second

ballot been reached; but, while Cockran had the element of oratorical power approaching that of Ingersoll, he lacked the exquisite elegance and sympathetic touch with his hearers exhibited by Ingersoll. Bryan won his nomination for the Presidency in the National Democratic Convention of 1896 by one of the most skilful and impassioned speeches ever delivered on such an occasion. He knew that his audience was made up of discordant elements without harmonious leadership, and all uncertain as to the final action of the body, and just at the right time he effaced the doubts and differences of the delegates by a well-chosen exhibition of matchless rhetoric, and nominated himself; but such a speech would have fallen on listless ears at Cincinnati in 1876.

The impression made on the convention by Ingersoll's speech presenting the name of Blaine for the Presidency was not of the fitful type that is made by a beautiful oration, but it left impressions which were never effaced during the entire sessions of the body. Speeches presenting other candidates were forgotten. While all were creditable, they were dwarfed into insignificance by the great deliverance of Ingersoll. Had a ballot been taken at any time during that day Blaine would undoubtedly have been nominated for President, and I never witnessed a more earnest struggle on the part of friends of a candidate to force a ballot, or more desperate efforts made by the opposition to postpone a ballot until the next day. The friends of Blaine fought resolutely to continue the session, and meant to extend it even into the night if necessary, but the desperation of the opposition made them prepare for such emergency, and when the shadows of darkness began to fall upon the body it was found that the gas had been cut off from the building, and that no lights could be obtained. An adjournment was thus forced, and never have I witnessed in a national political body such desperate and successful efforts of the minority to prevent the delegates from expressing their honest preferences for President. The Blaine forces were under divided control, and it was not until the third day that the friends of Blaine were able to force the convention to a ballot, during which time a number of commercial votes from the South were lined up against him and on the fifth ballot the stampede to Hayes began that carried

him to a majority on the seventh, receiving 384 votes to 351 for Blaine.

No man ever sprang into national, indeed, international, fame so suddenly as did Robert G. Ingersoll. The convention had full representation, and a large attendance of spectators from every State and Territory of the Union, and they all carried back to their homes the story of the wonderful orator who had pleaded the cause of the Plumed Knight. It was discussed in every newspaper, and thus made known to every community throughout the entire country, and then none outside of his State, and probably but few in it, had ever heard of his peculiar religious views. I remember the surprise with which I read the first publication made on the subject in an Illinois newspaper, declaring that the great speech made by the newly crowned Republican leader at Cincinnati had come from an infidel, but it was generally received as a campaign scandal, and little attention was paid to it. Ingersoll was in great demand in the campaign, and he delivered several great speeches, but he confined himself nearly or entirely to the Middle States.

Soon after the Presidential election, Ingersoll was invited to deliver one of the Star Course series of lectures, then in very successful operation in Philadelphia, under the management of Mr. Pugh, and was paid a very liberal compensation. It was Mr. Pugh's custom to have some citizen of Philadelphia preside at each of these lectures and introduce the speaker, and he requested me to preside at Ingersoll's lecture. I then, for the first time, became somewhat intimately acquainted with Ingersoll, and was greatly fascinated by his genial, sympathetic nature, and his brightness and versatility as a conversationalist. He had not then developed in open hostility to revelation, and he was not regarded as aggressively heterodox in his views. His address was one of the most interesting and plausible lectures to which I have ever listened, and I never heard a more subtle and searching assault upon the accepted doctrine of revelation than he gave without a single specially offensive expression. He had a thoroughly orthodox audience that crowded the vast auditorium of the Academy of Music, from parquet to dome, but while most of them regretted the trend of his address, they could not point out specially offensive utterances.

Ingersoll at once became very popular as a lecturer, and

delivered the same address in the leading cities of the East and also in the West, and it was not until he was forced into public dispute by some more zealous than wise pulpit orators that he developed into an aggressive blasphemer of revealed religion. He was bitterly assailed by religious enthusiasts and often with more invective than logic, and it was the utterances of these pulpit disputants who gave Ingersoll the keynote of his most effective arguments against revelation. He was not an atheist; he never denied or acknowledged the existence of a God, but he swept away all revelation as the merest fiction, and, while his class of hearers had changed, he could always command the largest audiences of any platform lecturer. I heard him several years after he had delivered his first address in Philadelphia, and was startled at his blatant blasphemy of everything pertaining to revealed religion.

The late Chief Justice Black, a devoted religionist of the Campbellite faith, and certainly one of the ablest disputants of his day, finally delivered a broadside against Ingersoll and his teaching in *The North American Review*. But, dispassionately judging the controversy from the standpoint of merit, he was outclassed by Ingersoll. I watched and studied Ingersoll's many disputes with great interest, and I believe that his influence for propagating unbelief was vastly magnified by the public controversy forced upon him. He was greatly aided in his advocacy of unbelief by the personal respect he commanded from all who knew him as he was and by his conspicuously pure, sympathetic and philanthropic life that stood before the world without a blemish.

After Hayes became President in 1877 Ingersoll located in Washington, where I met him frequently and learned to know him well. Aside from his offensive and ostentatious denial of revelation, he was one of the purest and loveliest characters I have ever known. He was a thorough agnostic, holding that men should believe only that which they could understand. He did not deny that there must be some great First Cause, but he assumed that he was refused all information relating to it, and therefore he simply bowed to the inevitable and held that if immortality was the destiny of man, his fitness for the new life must be attained by a blameless life here. He accepted the doctrine of evolution as accountable for human and animal life, but he did not explain the existence of the heavenly bodies



in their spheres because he did not know. He did not wholly reject the theory of immortality. On the contrary, one of the most beautiful addresses he ever delivered was at the grave of his brother Eben, in which he referred to the possibility of immortal life. It is evident that his brother shared his convictions, as the only ceremony on his funeral occasion was the exquisite eulogy delivered by Robert.

In my many meetings with Ingersoll on only one occasion did he introduce the subject of religion, and then he did it in rather a jocular manner. He said: "Of course you have too much sense to believe the story of Eden and of the flood and the immaculate conception, and the resurrection, etc.; why don't you discuss these questions?" I answered: "Assuming, for the sake of argument, that the Bible is a fable, the Christian civilization is the grandest that the world has ever known; it is the protection of the sanctity of home, of law and order in the community and of the supremacy of government, and it has elevated men and women more than all other agents combined toward the high standard of manhood and womanhood and humanity for which you are earnestly pleading; let it be effaced, and tell me what you have to offer that would be equal to, or better than, Christianity?" The only answer that Ingersoll could make was that the laws of humanity, when once made supreme by the teaching of men and women, would give us a faultless life with human sorrows reduced to a minimum. The subject was speedily changed, and I never again heard him discuss the question. After hearing his second lecture, in which he first aggressively blasphemed religion, I never again was among his auditors.

No man ever lived a more blameless life personally than did Robert G. Ingersoll in both public and private, and he had many devoted friends at the Bar and among personal acquaintances, who did not sympathize with his views as to revelation. His home was the sacred altar of his life, and his household gods worshiped him. He never offensively corrected a child, or denied it any pleasures it sought beyond advising it with a tender affection that usually commanded obedience. His children were as free to take his money and spend it as he was himself, and when they made mistakes he would kindly teach them the error, and thus always enjoyed their implicit confidence. The result was that his children grew up to mature years as part of him-

self, believing that his religion was the best the world could know, because it brought no shadows to their home. He would leave the most important professional duties at any time to take up the cause of the helpless, and many hundreds of whom the world has no knowledge shed scalding tears over his death. He was thoroughly sincere in all things, incapable of deceit, and disarmed his bitterest foes by his gentleness of speech and generous philanthropy.

I saw Ingersoll on several dinner occasions at the Clover Club, where he met some of the most brilliant men of the land from different sections of the country, and when he would enter the club he was usually greeted with the song, "In the Sweet Bye and Bye," but he welcomed the song with the most genial smile, and when opportunity came always acquitted himself delightfully without offense to any. I never saw him ruffled in temper, and at times, when under special provocation on social occasions, his exhaustless fund of exquisite wit was always ready to enable him to meet the assault without obtruding his peculiar views upon the guests. He died as he expected and hoped to die, in active harness, and while his teachings were severely and justly criticised by the religious men of the country, even those who had been his severest critics in life were compelled to pay the highest tribute to the intellectual power, to the purity of character and to the generous humanity of Robert G. Ingersoll.

## SMIRCHING THE FAME OF HEROES.

Great achievements in war or peace always develop the desperate struggles of ambition and violence of passion which seek to dim the lustre of those who have been most successful. The long and bitter Schley controversy, which, however regarded as a closed incident by the authorities at Washington, is still a vital issue with the great mass of the people, is a pointed illustration of the penalties which are inseparable from those who attain pre-eminence. It is only in time of war, when political issues are likely to be subordinated to the overshadowing issue of public safety, that great wrongs can be committed upon individuals of heroic achievement, and be sustained, or at least tolerated, for a time by the public sentiment that so often asserts its omnipotence in revising the acts of its rulers.

There were three conspicuous instances in which personal degradation was officially inflicted upon men who had attained high distinction in the discharge of their military duties. They were the cases of General Fitz John Porter, General G. K. Warren and Surgeon General Hammond, all of whom were doomed to disgrace by military Court-martial, and had to brave the condemnation of the Government to which they had given their best services for many years; but when the tide of passion had spent its fury and the power of mean ambition had been broken, all of them were fully acquitted by like tribunals chosen solely in the interest of justice. In the passions of war military Courts are, as a rule, organized to acquit or to convict as the Government demands, and as the judges are created by the Government, the judgment of the Court invariably reflects the Government's purpose.

The most conspicuous instance of injustice ever inflicted upon any military officer in the history of the country was suffered by General Fitz John Porter, and it was not until after he had suffered for a full score of years under an unjust judgment, which not only dismissed him from the army, but made him

ineligible to any office of civil trust under the Government, that his vindication was attained; but when it came his justification was so complete and overwhelming that even his accusers who yet survived were compelled to cease their fiendish work and bow before the unstained heroism of the soldier they had so wantonly and vindictively dishonored.

I met Fitz John Porter soon after the surrender of Sumter. He was then on the staff of General Scott, and was sent to Harrisburg to represent the Commander-in-Chief in the sudden and somewhat confusing military movements which were being made under the first call of the President for troops. Few of the present can appreciate the appalling horror of civil war. Our people had for many years been trained to peace, and when threatened with civil war that arrayed brother against brother and State against State, it was a condition that even the most dispassionate and heroic could contemplate with the profoundest sorrow.

I was present at the military conferences in Governor Curtin's office, and heard the Governor, General Patterson, Major Porter and the Governor's personal staff discuss the situation. The Baltimore riots had just completed their work of devastation; had cut the North off from its capital by the destruction of the telegraph and railway bridges, and for nearly three days the State authorities were without advices from Washington. Porter was then in all the vigor of his youth, and his finely chiseled face and flashing eye when he entered into discussion commanded not only the respect, but the admiration of all about him. The troops then rushing to the front were simply unorganized mobs, and no information could be obtained as to the condition of affairs in Baltimore. As the number of the troops increased they were advanced as far as York, and grave consultations were held time and again as to the propriety of advancing them beyond that point.

General Patterson had been a soldier in two wars, and was a brave and discreet commander. He naturally hesitated, as did the Governor, about advancing raw troops toward Baltimore, where they might precipitate a struggle with the well-organized and armed mobs in possession of that city. Porter was modest in manner and patiently heard the views of Patterson, the Governor and others, and, when appealed to for his judgment as to

the line of action to be adopted, his handsome face sparkled with his patriotic impulses as he declared: "I would march the army through Baltimore or over its ashes to reach and protect the capital of the nation." The impression made by Porter upon all who were present made them the first to protest against the judgment of the Court-martial that degraded Porter, and the first application made to President Grant for a revocation of the judgment, or a review of the case by a dispassionate tribunal, was headed by Governor Curtin, of Pennsylvania, and Henry Wilson, of Massachusetts.

Porter proved himself to be one of the most accomplished and heroic commanders of the Army of the Potomac. He was the only one of McClellan's corps commanders who fought three pitched battles in which he alone commanded, and in which he won the admiration and the gratitude of the Government and of the people. He proved that he was much more than a mere corps commander at Mechanicsville, Gaines Mills and at Malvern Hill, but the failure of McClellan's peninsula campaign developed an implacable personal quarrel between Secretary Stanton and McClellan, and from that time Stanton was as earnest and systematic in his efforts to overthrow McClellan and all of his favorite lieutenants as he was to overthrow the enemy. General Pope had been brought from the West and given a new department, embracing the defense of Washington and the armies of McDowell, Fremont and Banks, and when Lee appeared for the second time on the plains of Manassas Pope was outclassed in generalship from start to finish, and was finally driven into the defenses of Washington. He began his campaign as a blatant braggart, and when he was defeated by inferior numbers he was compelled to confess his utter failure as a military chieftain, or to find some victim upon whom the retributive stroke due to himself must fall. A brave, honest soldier would have told the truth, but the bombast looked for a victim upon whom he could inflict the shame that justly belonged to himself, and he immediately made formal charges against Porter for disobedience of orders, and Porter was at once relieved of the command of his corps.

Just then the situation was too serious to indulge in the inventions of bombast or individual hatreds, and President Lincoln, without consulting his Cabinet, called upon General McClellan

at his home and requested him to assume at once command of the defenses at Washington, which gave him command of the entire forces of the Army of the Potomac and of Pope's army. Stanton and other members of the Cabinet earnestly protested, but Lincoln knew McClellan's superb qualities as a defensive officer and his great abilities as an organizer, and when he decided upon his course of action the Cabinet knew that protest was needless. After Lee had crossed the Potomac and marched toward Antietam McClellan asked the President to restore Porter to his command and it was promptly done. He accompanied McClellan to Antietam, commanded the centre of the army in that action, and a few days thereafter was personally thanked on the battlefield by President Lincoln himself for the splendid service he had rendered the country. When Lee crossed the Potomac into Virginia Porter led the advance, and with his single corps he successfully fought the battle of Shepherdstown.

Some weeks later, when McClellan was removed from the command of the army, Pope's charges against Porter were revived, and a military Court was appointed by Stanton and studiously organized to convict. Porter met every accusation in the frankest manner, and when the case had closed he was so fully satisfied of his acquittal that he asked to be assigned to active duty before the finding of the Court was announced. I saw him in Washington when the case had been under consideration by the Court for some time after the testimony and arguments had closed; he was in excellent spirits, and told me that he had an appointment with the President that evening, his purpose being to urge an immediate assignment to active duty in the field. The fatal judgment of the Court had then been rendered, but had not passed through the various channels necessary to enter into the final decree. Lincoln heard him patiently, and, although the President then knew of the verdict of dismissal, he gave no intimation to Porter that his services would not be wanted.

Lincoln hesitated long before he gave his approval to the judgment of the Court, and it is one of the few acts that Lincoln sincerely regretted at the time and ever after. He did not believe Porter to be faithless, but he knew that Porter was a devoted friend of McClellan; that all of McClellan's officers

regarded Pope as a bombastic incompetent, and there was direct and positive testimony from inflamed or deliberately dishonest witnesses declaring that Porter had not co-operated with Pope. McClellan had then been permanently retired from the army, and new conditions and new and grave military necessities confronted Lincoln; and while he did not approve of the judgment against Porter, he felt that Porter and others of his type merited admonition to assure some measure of harmony in military affairs, and he finally decided that to approve the judgment would be the least of the evils presented to him. Had Lincoln survived the war there is little doubt that he would have been among the first to give vindication to Porter when the whole truth became accessible.

The conflicts of ambition in military and naval affairs often greatly surpass conflicts in our Civil Courts between inflamed litigants who summon perjury for their own protection. So vindictive and desperate were the enemies of McClellan and Porter, and so tireless were they in manufacturing testimony against them, that not only the loyal sentiment of the country but most of the military commanders accepted the judgment of the Porter Court as measurably or wholly just. General Grant, who was not in any way involved in the controversy as a military commander, came into the Presidency fully impressed with the conviction that Porter was perfidious to Pope in the second battle of Bull Run, and he stubbornly refused to give Porter an opportunity to reopen his case before a dispassionate tribunal; but, after he had retired from the Presidency, at Porter's request he carefully examined the Union and Confederate records of that battle, and in *The North American Review* of December, 1882, he published an article over his own signature, headed "An Undeserved Stigma," in which he not only declared, but fully demonstrated from the records, that Porter was not only guiltless of refusing to aid Pope, but that Porter had exhibited the highest qualities of the true soldier in acting as he did.

President Hayes, who was a brave and intelligent soldier, took up the subject and investigated it carefully, and he finally appointed Generals John M. Schofield, Alfred H. Terry and George W. Getty as an advisory board to rehear the case and report to the President. None of these officers was regarded as specially friendly to Porter, but they were accepted as entirely

capable of judging intelligently and fearless enough to report the truth. The case attracted much attention, and the unanimous judgment of the Court gave Porter the most complete vindication. The finding of the Court not only relieved Porter of all accusations of failing to perform his duty, but said: "Porter's faithful, subordinate and intelligent conduct that afternoon saved the Union army from defeat, which otherwise would have resulted that day in the enemy's more speedy concentration. . . . Porter had understood and appreciated the military situation, and so far as he acted upon his own judgment his action had been wise and judicious." Three of our most experienced, intelligent and dispassionate military commanders had put the enemies of Porter to shame by declaring that he was not only innocent of disobedience, but exhibited the best attributes of great generalship. But Congress was slow to act; the passions of war still ruled in political circles, and it was not until 1885 that Congress passed a bill restoring Porter to the army roll. It was vetoed on technical grounds by President Arthur, and the next year, on the 7th of August, 1886, Congress passed an act that was approved by the President, restoring Porter to his old position on the army roll, to accept in his own discretion either active service or to be retired. Twenty-two years had passed, during which he was practically isolated from military association, and he accepted a position on the retired list of the army. General Terry, who was not in any sense a partisan of Porter, but who as a member of the new commission had become profoundly impressed with the terrible injustice done to Porter, illustrated his chivalric character by proposing that Porter should be advanced to the position of Major General, to which Terry was just then entitled as the ranking Brigadier General, but Porter manfully refused to stand in the way of the promotion of the brave officer who had given him his vindication.

Few persons of today can have any conception of the humiliation inflicted upon General Porter. He had a family growing up about him, and he was without fortune to supply them with the necessities of life. He had been heralded throughout the whole land as a traitor, and when he was sent to Colorado, a few years after his dismissal from the army, as chief engineer in the erection of a mining mill, the Legislature of the Territory



passed resolutions demanding that he should leave Colorado because of his record as a traitor to the Union. He lived a most unobtrusive life, and never appeared conspicuously on public occasions. I met him frequently at small dinners, where some of his old military friends were glad to welcome him, but throughout the long period of his life, when he should have been most useful to his country, to himself and to his family, he was looked upon as a traitorous soldier, and escaped insult by his severely retired habits of life. He had a large circle of devoted friends in New York city, where he resided, and was made Commissioner of Public Works and later Police Commissioner. Soon after his restoration to the retired list of the army he settled in a quiet and modest home in New Jersey, and fretted out the evening of a life that had been so fearfully and so unjustly shadowed, until the spring of 1901, when he was borne by sorrowing friends to his final resting place with the dead.

General Gouverneur K. Warren, one of the most accomplished corps commanders of the Army of the Potomac, was summarily relieved from his command in the last battle of the war at Five Forks, after he had made a record second to no other corps commander in that army. He was a quiet, unassertive officer, excepting in the strict line of duty. He was in every battle in which the Army of the Potomac was engaged, from Big Bethel until the final retreat of Lee, and in every conflict he had proved his courage and skill as a commander. He sought no political influence, and never received promotion, except when it was voluntarily tendered for meritorious service. He was assigned as chief of the engineers of the army, and as such rendered a service at Gettysburg that probably decided the fate of that battle. He did not reach the field until the second day, and when he arrived on Cemetery Hill he noticed that Round Top was unoccupied by the Union forces, and immediately ordered its occupation. The movement was made, and not a moment too soon, as the enemy was just about to seize it, and it was held as part of the Union lines only after a desperate and bloody struggle.

When the army was reorganized under Grant, Warren was assigned to the command of the Fifth Corps. While he lacked the dash of Sheridan, his steady, self-poised skill made him one of the most important corps commanders, and he became known

as the great flanker of the army. When Sheridan made his rapid movement that resulted in the battle of Five Forks, Warren came to his support, and finding that Sheridan's order for attack was faulty in designating the position of the enemy, he promptly flanked Pickett's position, and greatly contributed to Sheridan's victory. Sheridan's impetuous method led him to relieve Warren on the instant without inquiring why he did not attack as directed or ascertaining what service had been rendered, and, after relieving Warren without sufficient reason, the one blot on Sheridan's fame comes from his refusal to vindicate Warren, even by confessing an error of his own.

Warren was not a favorite with either Grant or Sheridan, and Grant was then omnipotent in military circles. Warren was thus degraded just before the final victory for which he had so grandly fought, and for 15 years struggled to obtain a military inquiry into his record. It was finally given by President Hayes, and the judgment gave a substantial vindication to the broken-hearted hero. He continued in the engineering department of the service, but was rarely seen outside of his daily routine duties, and the severe strain of bitter disappointment brought him to the peace of the grave on the 8th of August, 1882.

One of the strangest records of military injustice was exhibited in the case of Surgeon General William A. Hammond. He entered the United States army in 1849 as Assistant Surgeon, and later, having retired to accept a professorship in the University of Maryland, he re-entered the army at the beginning of the civil war and was assigned to the charge of the hospitals of Hagerstown, Frederick and Baltimore. He was distinguished in his profession, thoroughly methodical and practical in his great work, and was first recommended for the position of Surgeon General by the United States Sanitary Commission. He was appointed Surgeon General in April, 1862, when but thirty-four years of age, and no more honest or faithful man ever accepted official trust, but in the loose methods inseparable from the hasty preparations for war some of those in whom the Surgeon General had every reason to place implicit confidence defrauded the Government in the supply of medical stores. The fraud was detected, and naturally provoked very general condemnation.

Hammond was tried in a tempest of passion by a military

commission and dismissed from the army in 1864. He was as innocent of fraud as the unborn babe, and the guilty parties were never detected, as they had the influence of powerful friendships, and one of the most competent, and certainly one of the most faithful of the officers of the army, was thus unjustly doomed to dishonor. He located in New York and soon became distinguished as a specialist in nervous affections. He commanded the very general respect and confidence of the medical profession, and in 1878, after fourteen years of suffering from the unjust judgment passed upon him, so thoroughly had the country become convinced of his innocence that a bill for his relief was passed by a unanimous vote in the House and with but one dissenting vote in the Senate, and in 1879 he was restored to his position on the army roll as Surgeon General on the retired list. Having been completely vindicated by the highest authority of the Government he was specially honored and beloved by the people because of the unjust humiliation inflicted upon him.

General Sherman truthfully said that "war is savagery," and it summons the rule of passion in field and forum, and alike in military and civil authority. The conflicts of ambition are as mean and desperate in the highest departments of power as they are in the lowest of the political slums. Temporary power, with passionate resentment, often deals its deadliest blows against the noblest and manliest, but in this great free Government, where the considerate public sentiment is the sovereign power, justice is certain to declare its mastery in the fullness of time by the vindication of those who have suffered unmerited disgrace.

## SAMUEL J. RANDALL—HIS STERN INTEGRITY IN PUBLIC LIFE.

Samuel J. Randall, of Pennsylvania, was one of the heroic characters of the last half a century whose record deserves much more careful study than is generally accorded to it. In this age of headlong advancement, of the appalling mastery of wealth and of subordination of political power to colossal business and financial combinations, the brave struggle with poverty of a man like Randall through a long public career, beset by temptations on every side, can be studied with interest and profit by all who wish properly to understand public and private duties. He wielded great power in State and nation, but his severe devotion to public and private integrity made him resist all the blandishments of wealth, and at times to brave the passions of party when they came in conflict with the interests of the Republic.

Randall was born in Philadelphia on the 10th of October, 1828, and was the son of Josiah Randall, who for many years had been one of the most conspicuous of the Whig leaders of the State. His son had his first training as a merchant, but had a fondness for politics, and soon after he had attained his majority he was several times elected to the City Councils when acting with his father as an opponent of the Democratic party. In 1856, when the radical Republican element prevailed in the nomination of Fremont for the Presidency and the Democrats made Buchanan their candidate, a large number of the ablest Whigs of Philadelphia, deserting the Republicans, supported Buchanan and thereafter acted with the Democratic party. The Democrats then had an accession of illustrious names from the Whigs in the Randalls, the Reeds, the Ingersolls, the Whartons and others, and young Randall's taste for political conflict made him at once an aggressive leader among his new political friends. He was a born fighter; he loved fierce conflict when he believed he was defending the right, and he often refused obedience to

the commands of party when his convictions dictated a different action.

In 1857 he was elected to the Senate to fill an unexpired term of two years, and at once became the Democratic leader of the body. He believed in party organization, but held that individual sense of duty was ever paramount, and he gave a conspicuous illustration of it during his first session in the Senate when the Democrats, who controlled both branches of the Pennsylvania Legislature, decided to legislate Judge Wilmot out of office. The Democrats had only three majority in the Senate, although they had nearly a two-thirds vote in the House, and when it was proposed to retire Judge Wilmot from the Bench by special legislation he planted himself squarely and firmly against the measure. He denounced it as bad party policy and worse public policy, but Randall stood alone on the Democratic side, and he was defeated by one majority. He was a candidate for re-election to the Senate in 1859, but the People's party, embracing a union of the Whigs, Americans, Republicans and anti-slavery Democrats, swept both city and State and Randall was defeated.

In 1862 Randall was nominated for Congress in the only Democratic district in Philadelphia. After the Republicans had gained control of the State they consolidated nearly or quite all the Democratic wards of the city into one district, regarding it as preferable to concede one Democratic Congressman than to endanger the loss of two or three districts, and in 1862 Randall received the Democratic nomination and was elected by a large majority. He then entered upon a Congressional career that was to end only with his death, 28 years later. When the second Republican apportionment of Congressional districts came around the strength of the Republicans in the city was so great that they could readily have made every district decidedly Republican, but Randall had won the respect of Republicans, although an earnest and aggressive Democratic leader, by his conspicuous loyalty during the war and by his fearless advocacy of a protective tariff, and in two Congressional apportionments made by Republican power Randall's Democratic district was unchanged.

Like all positive and fearless leaders, Randall made many enemies within his own political household, and repeated efforts

were made to unhorse him in his district, but his people were devoted to him, and every effort against him resulted in disastrous failure. The district was made up almost wholly of the wards fronting on the Delaware, with a population very largely composed of laborers and others in very moderate circumstances. They noted his frugal life, as in his free intercourse with them they were thoroughly familiar with his every-day movements, and, while his district was in early times the centre of violent election methods, Randall commanded the respect and affection of his people by the simple and heroic methods of his life and by his unfaltering honesty. At most of his elections there was no attempt made to defeat him either at the primaries or at the polls. He looked carefully after the assessments and taxes of his people. He had nothing but his salary on which to live, and could not have afforded the cost of maintaining the organization of his party in his district from his own resources, but from the time he entered Congress until his death he had devoted friends in George W. Childs and A. J. Drexel, who always furnished the means to qualify the electors of the district.

In 1861, when civil war came, Randall volunteered with the old Philadelphia Troop, and accompanied General Patterson in his march through the Shenandoah Valley. He was elected to Congress soon after the war began, but appeared in every emergency force that was called for by the State when the Confederates had invaded or threatened the borders of Pennsylvania, and, while he did not approve of the entire policy of the Lincoln Administration, he uniformly advocated and voted for every measure necessary for the maintenance of the army and the prosecution of the war.

Randall held to his old Whig faith in Protection until the day of his death, and that put him out of accord with his party during the later years of his life and made him an impossible candidate for the Presidency in 1884, when he had the cordial support of his State and was regarded by his friends as one of the hopeful aspirants. When the convention met at Chicago it soon became evident to his friends that he could not be the party candidate. He was brought to Chicago in person, and, after a conference with Daniel Manning, of New York, who managed the Cleveland forces, he transferred his support to Cleveland and thus secured the nomination for the candidate of the Empire State.

He made one of the most heroic battles of his life against the Morrison Tariff bill, and succeeded in defeating it, although the House had a large Democratic majority. He had been defeated by Carlisle for Speaker at the opening of that Congress entirely on the tariff issue, and he would certainly have been Speaker had he been willing to yield his convictions on the question, but he preferred defeat in the line of consistency with his faith, even at the risk of alienating himself from the sympathy and favor of the Administration.

Again in 1888, when the Mills Tariff bill was passed, Randall, although greatly broken in health, made exhaustive efforts to amend it in the interest of Protection, and opposed the measure at every step; and when the final vote was taken and illness prevented him from being present in the House, he was paired with a supporter of the bill, thus practically casting his vote against it. The passage of the Mills Tariff bill, against Randall's earnest opposition, brought him into somewhat strained relations with President Cleveland and the party leaders, but they did not venture to carry their opposition into his district. Although then suffering from a painful and incurable malady, and unable even to visit his district, he was unanimously nominated and elected by one of the largest majorities ever given to him.

Randall was one of the strong intellectual forces of the House, although a stranger to all the arts of rhetoric. He was direct, incisive and earnest in the discussion of any question, and he led the opposition to the force bills and like measures which followed the tempest of reconstruction. From the time he entered Congress, in 1863, until 1875, the Democrats were uniformly in a minority, but at the fall election of 1874 the Democrats swept the country and carried a large majority of the popular branch of Congress. Randall at once became a candidate for Speaker, and would have been elected but for the fact that he was earnestly opposed by United States Senator Wallace, from his own State, who had just been elected to the Senate and was a political leader of great ability. He and Randall possessed the same defect that is so common even among the most distinguished men—that of not understanding that a great State is big enough for two great men. They led opposing factions for many years, each in turn winning and losing over the other, and Wallace, who was much the more skillful political manager of

the two, accomplished the defeat of Randall for Speaker at the meeting of Congress in December, 1875. Speaker Kerr, who triumphed over Randall, died after serving a single session, and Randall was elected Speaker in the beginning of the second session of that Congress. He was re-elected Speaker by the two succeeding Congresses, and served in that position from the 4th of December, 1876, to the 3d of March, 1881. The Republicans regained the House and held their mastery only for a single Congress, when the Democrats were successful again, and John G. Carlisle, of Kentucky, was nominated for Speaker over Randall, after a desperate contest. His success was due solely to Randall's attitude on the tariff question.

It was fortunate for the country that Randall was Speaker of the Democratic House in 1876-7, during the desperate struggle over the Presidential succession, when Hayes was finally declared elected by the Electoral Commission over Tilden by a single vote. Randall wielded the power of the Chair with rare promptness and decision. He was a devoted friend of Tilden, whose election he confidently expected from the Commission by the electoral vote of Louisiana. The act authorizing the creation of the Electoral Commission was a felicitous solution of one of the most appalling perils ever presented in our political conflicts. Tilden had received a popular majority of over 250,000, and when the power of the Government was turned into the contest to control the electoral votes of Louisiana, Florida and South Carolina against Tilden, there were violent threats of revolutionary action. The apprehension of anarchy made the boldest of our political leaders take pause to consider some measure of safety.

Under the provisions of the law creating the Commission, its judgment in deciding the electoral vote of any State was not to be accepted as final until approved by one of the two branches of the national legislature. The House was strongly Democratic, and the Senate strongly Republican, and the House promptly dissented from the judgment of the Commission awarding the disputed States to Hayes. Louisiana was the State on which the Democrats relied, as the Democratic majority was decisive, and the record and facts overwhelmingly in their favor. When the Electoral Commission, by a vote of eight to seven, gave the State of Louisiana to Hayes, there would have



been revolutionary action in the House but for the heroic stand taken by Speaker Randall. It was all the more creditable on his part, as he was the devoted friend of Tilden, who was crucified. It was the only time during his long period as Speaker that his party narrowly escaped a defiant attitude toward the Chair, but he had supported the bill creating the Electoral Commission that was to be the final arbiter of the disputed Presidential honors, and he stood like the rock of Gibraltar when his party friends were thrown into violence that was little short of anarchy. In taking this bold stand against vehement party passions he had the single inspiration of devotion to public duty and to public safety, and although he was severely censured at the time by many of his party followers, when the tidal wave of passion had run its course all united in according the highest measure of respect to Randall for the unfaltering courage he had exhibited in one of the severest trials of the power of free government to maintain itself.

Randall was twice an active candidate for the Presidential nomination, and in 1880 he would have been nominated by the Cincinnati Convention had Tilden acted promptly and decisively. There was a strong sentiment in favor of renominating Tilden, who, as his friends believed, had been defrauded out of the Presidency four years before; but Tammany was hostile to Tilden, and he hesitated until the last moment, when his letter of declination was delivered and his friends instructed to support Randall. It was an open secret before the meeting of the convention that a close friend of Tilden's had a letter of declination in his possession to be delivered when instructed by Tilden to do so, but Tilden lost the control of the convention by his indecision, as his letter was not given out until the first ballot had been taken for President. Randall's name had not then been presented, but before the second ballot Tilden's friends were ordered into line for Randall, and gave him 128½ votes to 320 for Hancock.

The Tilden forces had been broken up and demoralized before they received their orders, but I have good reason to believe that had Tilden's declination been given out before the meeting of the convention Randall could have been nominated. It was the only time in his life when the Presidency was a possibility to Randall, and that opportunity was lost by the want of prompt

and courageous action on the part of Tilden. Four years later, when Randall made an aggressive campaign for the nomination and had his Pennsylvania delegation unanimously instructed and heartily for him, the tariff question had become a vital issue with the Democrats and Randall's nomination was an impossibility.

I first met Randall in January, 1858, at the meeting of the Legislature, when he appeared as a Senator and I as a Representative. I soon learned to appreciate his manly and heroic qualities, and from that time until his death our personal friendship was never strained, although often earnest opponents in political conflicts. He was a careful student, a man of strong intellectual force and a powerful disputant, but his speeches read better than they seemed in the hearing. He was incisive, logical and always positive and aggressive. He was an earnest and always chivalric foe, and he was a devoted and constant friend. After I became a resident of Philadelphia our personal friendly relations were steadily strengthened, and I learned to know not only Randall, the great leader, as he appeared to the public, but Randall the man, whose personal attributes became more and more appreciated as they became more and more understood. In factional quarrels which confronted him in his party he was at times more aggressive than wise, and he many times conferred with me when he was involved in desperate struggle within his own political household.

Several years before his death he became the victim of a painful malady that all but himself knew to be fatal, but he struggled on and never relaxed his interest in public affairs and never ceased to cherish the hope of his restoration to health. A year before he died, when Congress adjourned, he decided that he must remain in Washington, where his wife owned a small house on Capitol Hill. Mr. Childs, who was his devoted friend, learned from some members of the family that they were going to remain in Washington during the summer because Randall could not afford to incur the expense of seeking more comfortable quarters. Mr. Childs sent for me, informed me of the decision Randall had made, and added that Randall certainly could not live throughout the summer unless he was moved from Washington. He inquired whether a comfortable summer residence could not be obtained for him in the neighborhood of my summer residence, 12 miles distant from the city, where the country is broken by

hills and forests and streams. It happened that I knew of a very desirable place that could be obtained very reasonably within a mile of my own residence, where there was a large stone house situated on an eminence and surrounded by a forest. I at once made inquiry and found that it could be leased for the summer partially furnished for \$500, and that \$100 additional expended in furnishing would make it very comfortable. I reported to Mr. Childs, and he instructed me to have the lease executed, pay the rental and have it receipted on the lease as paid by Randall. This was promptly done, and Mr. William M. Singerly, Mr. Frank McLaughlin and Mr. Alfred Gratz joined Mr. Childs and myself in the payment of the rent and the furnishing of the house.

Mr. Childs then notified Randall that he had obtained a place for him, and desired him to come on as speedily as possible, as it was ready for immediate occupation. When Randall came on I met him at the depot, and there presented him the lease with the receipt for the rental. He hesitated for a few moments when he saw that the rent had been paid, and said with emphasis: "I cannot accept this unless you agree that I shall refund it when able to do so." I answered that we would discuss that question when he was in a more comfortable condition. He thus had a very restful summer for one in his suffering condition, and I saw him every few days. When unable even to be out of his bed I would find him with books and pamphlets lying around him, from which he was studying every important question likely to be presented to the next Congress. He was entirely confident that he would be able to resume his seat in December.

After he had been there some two months or more I found him in the parlor reclining on a sofa. Immediately after greeting me he drew a large envelope from his side pocket and handed it to me. Said he: "There is the money for the rent and you must accept it." It was evident that he had denied himself and his family many of the ordinary comforts of life in order to save \$500 out of his monthly payments. I told him that it could not be accepted: that there were others besides Mr. Childs and myself who had joined in it, and that none would permit the money to be returned. He answered with emphasis: "No public man can afford to accept gratuity from any." I saw that he was very positive and that it was needless to discuss the

question with him. I then asked that Mrs. Randall be called, and when she entered the room I handed the package to her and said: "This money your husband insists shall be returned to those who rented this property for him, and it will not be accepted. You must take it and devote it to the comfort of your suffering husband and your family." Mrs. Randall hesitated for a moment, and finally said that she would receive it, and asked that all who had contributed to it should be thanked for the care for her sick husband, whose life had been prolonged by the summer in the country. Randall said nothing until his wife left the room, when I immediately resumed the discussion of public questions in which he was interested, and diverted him from the question of refunding the money.

My last visit to Randall, only a short time before his death, was on a like mission. Mr. Childs, knowing that Randall was near the end, and that he was entirely without fortune to leave his family, had raised a fund, doubtless made up by Mr. Drexel and himself, that would give Randall and his family an income of nearly \$2,000 a year as invested by Mr. Drexel himself, but Randall promptly and peremptorily refused it. Mr. Childs asked me to go to Washington at once and explain to Randall that he owed it to his family to permit this investment to be made. I at once visited him at his home in Washington, where he was on his death bed, and he met my first suggestion about the money with a positive refusal to accept it. He insisted that no man in public office could afford to receive aid from any one except as a loan that was certainly to be paid. I then told him that the fund would be presented to Mrs. Randall, and that he must, for the sake of his family, permit that to be done. After much painful hesitation he finally acceded to it, or, rather, said that perhaps he ought not to interpose to prevent it. The fund was then put into proper shape and handled by Mr. Drexel himself. He struggled until the very last to give some measure of performance to his public duties. By a special order of the House he was sworn in as a member on his death bed, but he never was able to be present to answer roll call. After two years of suffering, and many months at the close in terrible agony, on the 12th of April, 1890, he bowed to the inexorable foe that masters all, and a life of exceptional usefulness and severe integrity was ended.

## JOHN SHERMAN—AUTHOR OF RESUMPTION.

To John Sherman, of Ohio, belongs the honor of the longest service in the United States Senate given by any man in the history of the Republic. He entered the Senate on the 4th of March, 1861, to fill the vacancy caused by the appointment of Chase to the Lincoln Cabinet, and he served continuously in the Senate, with the single exception of four years when Secretary of the Treasury under Hayes, from 1877 to 1881, until the 4th of March, 1897, when he resigned to become Secretary of State under McKinley. He thus served thirty-two years in the first legislative tribunal of the nation. When Benton retired in 1852, after having served thirty consecutive years in the Senate, he stood single and alone, and his interesting work entitled "Thirty Years in the Senate" is the best political history of that period. It exhibits a very high appreciation of Benton's own services, but that was measurably pardonable because he was altogether the most prominent statesman of his day, with the single exception of Clay. Since then Morrill, of Vermont, was elected to a sixth term in the Senate, but he lived only a short time after he entered upon it. Allison, of Iowa, will close out thirty consecutive years in the Senate if he lives until the 4th of March next, and has been elected to his sixth term. John P. Jones, of Nevada, will also round out thirty consecutive years in the Senate at the close of the present Congress, but his successor has not yet been chosen, and Anthony, of Rhode Island, was elected to a fifth term, but did not live to enter upon it. The only difference between Sherman and the others who have served thirty years, or will have served thirty years at the close of the present Congress, is in the fact that his service was not continuous. When Hayes assumed the Presidency on the 4th of March, 1877, he called Sherman from the Senate to the head of the Treasury Department, where he served for four years. On the 4th of

March, 1881, when his term of Secretary expired, he had already been commissioned for a new term in the Senate.

Sherman was one of a large family of Sherman boys who were left without fortune by their father at his death, and one of the sons, who afterward became the famed General Sherman, was adopted by Senator Thomas Ewing, whose daughter the General afterward married; and John was taken into the family of his cousin, John Sherman, and aided in equipping himself for college. He contributed largely to his education by his own efforts, serving most of the time as a rodman in a corps of engineers, and, after equipping himself to enter the sophomore class at college, he finally decided to begin the study of law instead of making a desperate struggle for a collegiate education. He became a student with his brother Charles, in Mansfield, O., where he was admitted to the Bar in 1844, and the brothers practiced together until John entered public life as a Congressman in 1854, and continued uninterruptedly in the public service until his death at the advanced age of 77.

The John Sherman of early days was very different from the John Sherman as he was known in his later years and is now generally regarded by the public. When he entered Congress a comparatively young man, in 1854, he was one of the most genial and jovial of the Republican leaders in the House, and while he was one of the ablest and most indefatigable workers of the party he won the nomination for the Speakership at the beginning of his third term quite as much because of the personal affection cherished for him as because of his admitted ability. He would have been Speaker of the House but for an unfortunate indorsement he had given to Helper's book on slavery. Sectional feeling was running very high, provoked by the bitter controversy over the defeat of the Missouri Compromise. Helper had published a statistical book on slavery that was very offensive to the Southern people, and some of the more aggressive anti-slavery men sought to aid the circulation of the book by recommendations from Congressmen. Sherman thoughtlessly signed the paper, and thus gave mortal offense to a few conservative Whigs from the South, who were opposed to the Democratic organization in the House but would not support Sherman. After a contest of several weeks, during which Sherman came within three votes of an election, a compromise

was effected, and the opposition to the Democrats was harmonized on Governor Pennington, of New Jersey.

It was a serious defeat for Sherman, as he was young, able and ambitious, and the fact that he was compelled to abandon the field for Speaker after having been the unanimous choice of his party made him a very ardent worker in the anti-slavery cause. One of the most important State papers in its bearing upon the slavery issue was the report of the committee of Congress appointed to investigate the revolutionary action of the slavery Missourians in Kansas. Sherman was on the committee, with Howard as the chairman, but most of the work was performed by Sherman, owing to the illness of Howard, and he prepared the report. It was elaborate, exhaustive and conclusive, and was the text book of the great battle of 1860 that made Abraham Lincoln President.

When Chase was called to the Lincoln Cabinet there were many aspirants for the Senatorship, and Sherman had an earnest and desperate battle before him. I saw him several times in Washington while the contest was on, and he fully realized that he had a hard fight before him, but he was a great organizer, a tireless worker and commanded a higher measure of popular respect than any of his competitors, and in the end he won a signal triumph. He had been re-elected to the House, but when the Congress of 1861 expired he resigned and took his seat in the Senate, where he rendered more important service to his country than was given by any of his Senatorial associates. His career was not the most brilliant, for he did not study the art of rhetoric, but as a member of the Finance Committee, and later its chairman, he became the accepted leader in the Herculean task of restoring the country to specie payments.

He was the author of the bill providing for the gradual approach to a specie basis, and it was fortunate for the country that he was called to the head of the Treasury Department with his great ability and earnest purpose to restore the credit of the nation. It was a desperate undertaking. The Democratic National Convention of 1876 that nominated Tilden, whose platform was prepared by Tilden himself, one of the shrewdest of the political leaders of the day, denounced the resumption policy of the Republicans as a visionary scheme that was impossible of consummation, and a very large proportion of the Republicans

had very little faith in the ability of the Treasury to carry into effect the Sherman resumption law. I doubt whether any other man than John Sherman could have taken the Treasury portfolio in 1877 and accomplished the resumption of specie payments as he did. He was thoroughly familiar with the resources of the country and with the financial conditions of every country in the world. He devoted himself tirelessly to the work of strengthening the credit of the Government, and, despite the croakings of the opposition in both parties, he brought the country to specie payments on the 1st of January, 1879, without a ripple on the financial surface, and from that date until the present our Government had been on a specie basis, and today commands the highest credit of any Government of the world.

Of course, Sherman could not acquire sufficient gold to redeem the currency of the Government, but he well understood that if he had ample gold in reserve to give credit to the currency of the Government its redemption would not be asked for, as the currency was preferable to gold as a circulating medium. He patiently pursued his work until he had acquired \$140,000,000 of a gold reserve, and as the 1st of January, 1879, approached it became generally accepted that the Government would be quite able to maintain the specie standard. The premium on gold gradually declined until it reached but a fraction of 1 per cent. a few weeks before the period of resumption, and on the day of resumption the gold premium entirely disappeared, and has been unknown in our financial history ever since.

Sherman's exceptional services in the restoration of the national credit have been almost forgotten by the great mass of the people. Public men are remembered largely or wholly as they keep in sympathetic touch with the people, and it was Sherman's misfortune that he became so entirely absorbed in his ceaseless and exacting labors to maintain our financial resources during the war, and to re-establish the Government credit afterward, that he insensibly lost all the genial qualities which he possessed in such a large degree at the beginning of his public career. His home was childless, and of all the public men I have known I think Sherman gave himself the least of social recreation. He was thoroughly honest in all his public affairs, and his sole aim was to render the greatest possible service to



the country when it was struggling for its existence. He was not snobbish, but during more than the last decade of his life he was regarded as cold and unapproachable, and there is little doubt that the mental prostration he suffered soon after he entered the McKinley Cabinet, when he was enjoying a fair degree of physical health for one of his years, was chiefly or wholly the result of his entire absence of social pleasures to give him forgetfulness of his exacting cares.

Very few of the people now living have any just appreciation of the great service rendered to the country by John Sherman in restoring the national credit. For a quarter of a century the question of the sanctity of the national credit has been eliminated from our political conflicts. True, we have had a tidal wave of greenbackism that revolutionized some of the States of the North, and later we had the free silver tempest, but the advocates of both of those theories always assumed that they would fully maintain the national credit by their financial policy. Of course, most of them knew better, for the success of either would have been a vital stab to the integrity of the national faith, but at no time during the last 25 years has there been any political organization that openly avowed repudiation. The repudiation theory is, therefore, one of the forgotten incidents of our civil war, as it was overshadowed by the many grave issues which grew out of that sanguinary conflict, but for a full decade from the beginning of the war open repudiation had many supporters, and very many sincere and honest advocates of maintaining our national credit were doubtful as to the ability of the American people to bear the billions of debt and war taxation which had fallen upon them.

There were open advocates of repudiation in both branches of Congress. President Johnson, in his latest deliverance to Congress, presented an elaborate argument to prove the utter impossibility of the country paying the national debt, and proposed that interest should be paid on the full amount of the debt in gold until the interest payments aggregated the amount of the principal, when that should be accepted as payment in full. Hundreds of millions of bonds issued by the Government and paying a high rate of interest were payable in gold, and yet were purchased for currency when gold was from one hundred to two hundred per cent. premium. The bondholders were thus a

privileged class of creditors, their bonds being worth double their face value in the currency that had to be received as a legal tender in the commercial and business transactions of the people. Demagogues found a fruitful field in which to exploit the theories that prejudiced the people against maintaining the national credit, and I well remember when the wisest and bravest of our statesmen trembled over the prospect of fully restoring the credit of the nation.

It was under these conditions that Sherman as chairman of the Finance Committee of the Senate first proposed his refunding act in 1867, only two years after the war had closed, and when there was even in the circle of his own political friends grave doubts as to the possible success of resumption at any time in the near future; but Sherman stood to his guns and heroically maintained the necessity of giving the country and the world the assurance of the early resumption of specie payments. His first bill of 1867 failed, and in 1870 he succeeded in passing a refunding act without the resumption clause, which he so earnestly favored, but the refunding act was a step in the right direction, and it strengthened the confidence of the country in the ultimate success of resumption, and in 1874 he secured the action of the Republican Senatorial caucus to select a special committee, of which Sherman was chairman, to consider and report on the question of resumption. So absolute was the confidence of the Republicans in Sherman on the resumption question that his associates decided that he should present the measure whenever he chose; that they would leave the discussion of it entirely to himself; and he at once came to the front and passed his resumption bill providing for the resumption of specie payments on the first of January, 1879. He could not succeed in making resumption mandatory at the time named in the bill, as most of his associates believed it to be impossible, and he was compelled to accept a provision that the execution of the law should be left to the discretion of the Secretary of the Treasury.

Fortunately for the country Sherman became the Secretary of the Treasury two years later, and was thus charged with the execution of his own law. Never did a public officer render a grander service to the country than did John Sherman during the three years of his Secretaryship, which he devoted to the

single purpose of re-establishing the credit of the Republic. So wisely and faithfully did he perform this duty that long before the time fixed for resumption, it became evident to all that the great free Government of the world, in eighteen years after the most exhaustive war of history, was enabled to re-establish its credit on a sound money basis, and again take its rank among the high credit nations of the earth. I think it safe to say that but for John Sherman the resumption of specie payments would have been long delayed beyond the period fixed by his resumption act, and it is impossible now to measure the magnitude of the service he rendered in the complete restoration of the credit of the Republic.

Ohio was distinguished for the ability of her Senators during the war and reconstruction period. Sherman had as his colleagues bluff Ben Wade, who was one of the ablest and most unbending of all the Republican leaders, and two of the ablest Democrats of the State, Thurman, the recognized Democratic leader of the Senate for a full decade, and Pendleton, who was one of the most accomplished and brilliant of our Senators, and, strange as it may seem, the author of the first civil service law. Sherman was frequently opposed in his contest for election to the Senate, and at one time, but for his consummate skill in the management of men, he would surely have been beaten. There were a number of Republican leaders in the State more popular personally than Sherman, and they organized at the end of each of his terms to accomplish his defeat, but it is creditable to the people of Ohio that, however much they may have loved the smaller men, their pride in their State and its statesmanship made them always rally on the homestretch to the support of Sherman and scatter his competitors as if a tempest had struck them.

He was ambitious, as was his right, and he certainly had good reason to cherish the high expectations which made him battle for the Presidency; but he was not in magnetic touch with the Republican leaders as was Blaine, and, while all admitted his pre-eminent ability, there were few who really preferred him as a Presidential candidate. In his devotion to the civil service policy of President Hayes he had given offense to the more active element of the Republican party, and especially in the removal of Collector Arthur and some of his Custom House

associates in New York. He was prominently and earnestly presented by his State in 1880, with Garfield at the head of the delegation. In that convention came the battle royal between the friends of Grant and Blaine, and it soon became manifest that neither could be nominated. Had Sherman been in a position to command any reasonable measure of enthusiastic support he would have been the logical candidate, but Garfield, who championed Sherman's cause, much more effectually championed his own and became the compromise nominee.

His only hopeful battle for the Presidency was made in 1888, when Pennsylvania, under the leadership of Senator Quay, declared for Sherman, and Adjutant General Hastings, afterward Governor, delivered the speech presenting Sherman's name to the convention. His nomination at that time was altogether within the range of possibility had he not been betrayed by some of his professed friends. As Secretary of the Treasury he had completed a very efficient organization throughout the South and controlled it to a large extent in 1888 in the selection of delegates to the national convention, but in his own memoirs he makes the humiliating statement that a number of his delegates were debauched by a Presidential competitor, and his defeat thereby accomplished. But for the diversion of the Southern delegates from the Sherman ranks it is more than probable that he would have been nominated at Chicago in 1888, and if nominated he certainly would have been elected. Sherman never fully recovered from the blow he received in that contest, and as he had then reached an age beyond which Presidential candidates could not be taken, one of the great inspirations of his public life had perished, and Sherman became more and more of a recluse as he found relief from his great disappointment only in ceaseless devotion to his public duties.

In 1892, four years after Sherman had made his last effort to reach the Presidency, Harrison was overwhelmed in his contest for re-election, and in 1896 the Republican nomination for President came to Ohio for the third time since Sherman had dreamed the dream of attaining the highest civil honors of the world. McKinley was nominated and elected, but Sherman had ceased to be a political factor, and was unseen and unfelt in the St. Louis convention. When the new Ohio President was inaugurated on the 4th of March, 1897, Sherman had two years of

his Senatorial term to serve. He then felt the ravages of age, and his severe employment of his mental powers for 40 years, with little or no relaxation, unfitted him for the leadership he had so long maintained. Having outlived ambition, and long passed the period allotted for mortals, his desire was to finish his Senatorial term and then retire to await the grave summons that must come to all; but new political conditions and new leaders had arisen, and his place in the Senate was wanted by Marcus A. Hanna, who had, by his masterly political management, accomplished the nomination and election of McKinley.

The proposition to round out Sherman's career as Premier of the new Administration was well understood by Sherman himself as a demand upon him to surrender his seat in the Senate, and he reluctantly bowed to the new mastery that confronted him and accepted a place in the Cabinet, only to find himself a nominal Premier, with little or no duties to perform, and to be practically voiceless in the performance of the high duties of his office. Mental depression speedily followed; the same influences which commanded him to accept the Premiership suggested his retirement, and he finally gave up his portfolio, broken in health, in heart and hope, and a very few years later, on the 22d of October, 1900, death ended the career of John Sherman, one of the ablest of American statesmen, the author of our restored national credit, and one who won the greatest achievement in council or forum, and suffered the greatest disappointments.

## FINANCIAL PROGRESS OF THE REPUBLIC.

The wonderful advancement of the United States in industry, commerce, finance and trade, with capital more profitably invested than ever before in the history of the country, with labor more generally in demand and better requited, with the products of our ingenuity and industry competing with the home markets of every country in the world, and with a financial policy that makes every dollar in circulation, whether paper or specie, of equal value in every part of the country, makes few of even the more intelligent people of the present day take pause to inquire into the financial and industrial condition of the Union when Abraham Lincoln was inaugurated President on the 4th of March, 1861. The national debt was then \$65,000,000 in round numbers, and the revenues of the nation were but little over \$50,000,000. The entire money in circulation, including paper and specie, was \$435,000,000, being less than \$14 per capita for the entire population of the country at the time. The national debt had been more than doubled during the last two years of the Buchanan administration, resulting chiefly from what was known as the Mormon war, and it was larger at that time than it had been at any period after the country had entirely recovered from the financial strain of the second war with England.

One of the strong arguments against the continuance of the Democratic party in power was the increase of the national debt to what was regarded as the enormous sum of \$65,000,000, but it is only just to say that the same arguments were generally and vehemently used against John Quincy Adams in 1828, because he had permitted the annual expenditures of the Government to reach the sum of \$13,000,000. When it is remembered that the credit of the United States is today the best of any Government of the world, with a debt of two billions, over one-half of which is interest-bearing, and that in the darkest days

of our financial difficulties during the civil war the national debt reached high-water mark at \$2,773,236,173.69, that being the aggregate debt of the country on the 1st of July, 1866, the matchless advancement of the industrial, commercial and financial interests of the country since the inauguration of Lincoln can be justly appreciated.

During the last generation the people of this country have had no experience with depreciated currency. True, the moneys of the Government, and also of the national banks during the period of suspension, were not redeemed in gold, and their relative value compared with gold was at times largely below the gold standard, but the Government currency was a legal tender in all the business transactions of the country, and the notes of the national banks, being absolutely secured, were very generally accepted in the payment of all obligations in business circles. Today the business man does not take the trouble to look at the name of the bank that has issued the bank note he receives, and the workingman knows when he is paid his wages, whether in paper or specie, that every dollar he holds is good for one hundred cents wherever he shall choose to expend it. An occasional counterfeit makes its appearance, but the Government notes are so carefully printed that it is most difficult to imitate them, and counterfeiting gains little progress, making the loss caused by it imperceptible in trade.

The few who can remember the financial conditions of 1861 well understand the unexampled advancement that has been made by the great free Government of the world. At that time the entire circulation was about \$435,000,000, or less than \$14 per capita, as compared with the present circulation of over two billions, giving nearly \$30 of money to every man, woman and child in the land. But, limited as was the circulating medium in 1861, its quality was even more defective than its quantity. The only paper circulation was issued by State banks. In many of the States what was known as "wild cat" banking was reduced to a fine art. Banks would be organized and the country flooded with notes, and when the pressure came for redemption the banks would fail and there was no remedy for the note holder. The breaking of banks in some sections of the country in severe times was almost a daily occurrence, and even in the most prosperous business conditions one-half the paper circu-

lation of the country was regarded as unsafe. Every business man was compelled to have his Bank Note Detector, then issued weekly, giving the name, capital, circulation and officers of every bank in the United States, with the credit condition of its issue.

A number of banks in the leading cities were quoted at par, and country banks which redeemed their circulation through city agents were also quoted at par; but the large majority of the country banks were quoted at from  $\frac{1}{2}$  to 10 per cent. discount. The notes most distrusted were most pushed in circulation, as all who received them paid out their doubtful money first. Every merchant and business man was required to have the latest Detector by his side, and farmers, mechanics and working men receiving money were compelled to make inquiry of their storekeeper or some experienced business man to ascertain what portion of it was entirely good and what portion doubtful.

In addition to the high rate of discount of much of the paper money then in circulation, the country was always flooded with counterfeits. A few of the thoroughly solid banks had their notes executed in the very best style and printed on the finest quality of durable paper, and they were rarely counterfeited; but a majority of the country banks issued very indifferently engraved notes, making it easy for the counterfeiters to imitate. The loss to the business men in bad paper circulation was a very considerable item in their expense account. All that was remedied when the National Banking law went into effect in the early part of 1863. One of the provisions of that law levied a tax of 10 per cent. on the issue of every State bank note, and, of course, it was prohibitory, so that from the day that the national banking system went into effect until the present we have had a uniform bank circulation, and the issue of each bank, however small or obscure, is equal in credit to the issue of the richest bank in the financial metropolis of the country.

When the civil war began the question of financing the nation through a long and costly conflict was one that appalled the bravest and ripest men of the country. It was at first deemed a necessity to maintain the credit of the nation, and the suspension of specie payments was delayed much too long. It would have been the part of wisdom in the midsummer of 1861,



when the disastrous battle of Bull Run clearly indicated that a long and bloody war must be maintained to preserve the Union of the States, to have suspended specie payments at once and not permitted the Government and the banks to be drained of gold by the many who distrusted financial conditions and gathered gold only to withdraw it from circulation and hoard it. The Government did not suspend specie payments until the 25th of February, 1862, and then it was done simply because it became absolutely impossible to maintain the specie standard.

The suspension at once made gold command a high premium, and silver was at that time more valuable than gold on the ratio of 16 to 1 that had been accepted as the standard for years by the Government. The result was that not only gold was entirely withdrawn from circulation, but silver also, and as there were no bank notes of less denomination than one dollar the country was suddenly left entirely without subsidiary money that was needed in the daily transactions of the people. Although the Government had authorized the coining of subsidiary silver, there was very little of it in circulation in 1860 throughout the rural districts. The chief money of less denomination than one dollar was the old Spanish coin known as the "fip" ( $6\frac{1}{4}$  cents) and the "levy" ( $12\frac{1}{2}$  cents), with Spanish silver pieces worth a little more than 20 cents which passed current as "quarters." So long had these Spanish coins been in circulation that it was not uncommon to find the "fips" and "levies" worn to a point that you could not distinguish that there ever had been any inscription on them. They answered the purpose of change, and they were received without question; but when gold and silver commanded a premium, even the small Spanish change was retired from circulation, and the people were left entirely without any circulating medium of less denomination than one dollar. It became a very serious matter to all classes and conditions, and the result was a flood of what was called "shinplasters," consisting of 5, 10, 25 and 50-cent notes, little more than quarter the size of an ordinary bank note, and issued by all sorts of corporations, municipal, railroad, etc., and as a rule the corporations which were least responsible issued the largest amounts and scattered them broadcast, hoping that many of them would be destroyed and finally a considerable percentage of them was repudiated.







A relic of the personal printed checks resorted to in 1862, when gold and silver disappeared from circulation (see p. 463).



As an illustration of the condition in Chambersburg, one of the best communities in the State, where I then resided, the floodtide of irresponsible "shinplasters," which had to be accepted because there was nothing better to take their place, brought the officers of the old Chambersburg Bank to the consideration of some measure of relief for that section of the State. They decided to call in a number of their responsible depositors to confer on the subject, and urged them to unite in the issue of small neatly engraved checks on the bank of the denomination of 5, 10, 25 and 50 cents, and it was promptly agreed to. The result was that the Chambersburg community had an abundance of small change checks on a bank issued by depositors who commanded the confidence of the public. I was one of the number called upon to issue these small checks, and I here give a copy of one of them, presenting it in the exact size and form in which it was issued.

The experiment made in Chambersburg was so satisfactory that it was repeated in a number of communities in Pennsylvania, but the "shinplaster" tidal wave soon became so disturbing to the country that the Government was compelled to furnish some measure of relief, and in July, 1862, Congress authorized the issue of what was called postal currency, which afforded immediate relief, and was so well received that on the 3d of March, 1863, fractional currency was authorized to the extent of \$50,000,000. That sum was issued in the denominations of 3, 5, 10, 25 and 50 cents, and continued to be the sole small circulating medium of the country until the resumption of specie payments on the first of January, 1879. As soon as resumption was successfully accomplished silver and gold immediately reappeared, and the Government has largely increased the subsidiary silver coins of the country, providing an abundance for all the necessities of trade.

The Government very largely profited by this fifty millions of fractional currency. It was in very general and active circulation from 1863 to 1879, a period of sixteen years, and the carelessness with which small money is so often handled resulted in a very large measure of loss. The latest report of the Treasury estimates that \$8,375,934 of the fractional currency issued has been lost or destroyed, and the books of the Treasury acknowledge the amount of \$6,876,361.63 as yet outstanding,

very much of which will never be presented for redemption. Many of the small notes have doubtless been lost or destroyed, and many more are held as souvenirs of war times. It is safe to estimate that of the fifty millions of fractional currency issued by the Government, fully ten millions will never be redeemed. The gross indebtedness of the Government today, while maintaining the highest credit of any Government of the world, is in round numbers \$2,145,000,000, about one-half of which bears interest, and more than one-third of which is in 2 per cent. consols, which sell at a premium. The amount of the national debt, less actual cash resources in the Treasury, is in round numbers one billion of dollars, being about \$12 per capita. In 1868 the national debt, less cash resources in the Treasury, was \$2,481,000, being over \$67 per capita of the entire population.

If the United States needed a billion dollars today for any purpose of war or peace, the loan would be sought for at the lowest rate of interest in every money centre of the world; but in 1861, when it became necessary to provide means for the prosecution of the civil war, the first proposition for a loan of \$50,000,000 appalled not only the people generally but the leaders of finance. It was only after exhaustive effort and earnest appeals to the financial institutions of the country to sustain the credit of the Government for their own safety, that the loan was taken. Jay Cooke, who is yet living with his faculties unabated to see the fulfillment of his early and then generally doubted prophesy of the financial, industrial and commercial prosperity of the country, was a son of Ohio, a personal acquaintance of Secretary Chase, and a budding banker in Philadelphia. He was a great enthusiast, intensely patriotic, and a tireless worker, and it was by his personal efforts that the banks of the country raised the first \$50,000,000 loan for the Government. As an illustration of the feeling in financial circles at that time, when the negotiation for the loan was completed one of the leading bankers of the country said to Secretary Chase: "That's all we can do. You will have to finish the war on that."

When it is remembered that before the close of the war the war expenses of all kinds reached the enormous average of nearly three millions per day, and that that average daily cost was never reduced until after the surrender of the Confederate armies in 1865, the magnitude of the effort to finance the war

and preserve at least a fair semblance of Government credit may be properly appreciated. The country was not prepared to look the war squarely in the face and make ample provision for its prosecution, and a great number of financial makeshifts were resorted to for the purpose of tiding the Government along until there should be some sign of peace, or until the people could be educated up to the point of making loans by the hundreds of millions. Finally, early in 1862, when the army was long unpaid, and the Government was entirely unable to meet its obligations from day to day, Congress rose to the emergency and authorized the issue of five hundred millions of what was then known as the five-twenty loan. They were 6 per cent. bonds, principal and interest payable in gold, redeemable in twenty years, with the right of the Government to redeem them at any time after five years.

Secretary Chase was a strict economist in the management of the affairs of the Treasury, and that led him to commit the serious mistake of attempting to handle the loan directly from the Treasury Department. He could only operate through the limited number of the agents of the Government and a few banks and bankers, and the Government had no systematic method of presenting the loan to the people. With this loan upon the market, accessible to any who would apply for it, the Government fell more and more behind, until at the beginning of 1863 over \$60,000,000 were due to the soldiers, many of whom had not been paid for from three to six months, and the Treasury was literally bankrupt. It was then that Jay Cooke was appealed to by Secretary Chase to become the special agent of the Government and assume the responsibility of handling the loan and supplying the needed revenues. It was a fearful undertaking, but Cooke was young, thoroughly equipped in all the methods of banking and cherishing an abiding faith in the patriotism of the people. He was confident that the time had come for the Government to withdraw its appeal from the money centres of the country and carry the case of the endangered Union to the homes of the people themselves. He inaugurated a system of advertising in newspapers and by cards, by which he reached a large majority of the homes of the Northern people, and appealed directly to them to put their \$50, or their \$100, or their \$1000 of surplus money into Government bonds as the



safest investment they could make. The response even surpassed the expectations of Mr. Cooke, and in a few months he had the daily receipts from bond subscriptions averaging over three millions. By the close of the year 1863 he had sold the entire loan and had subscriptions for thirteen millions more, which the Government afterward accepted and authorized the issue of that amount in addition to the original loan.

Any man or banking house accomplishing for one of the Governments of Europe the great financial results obtained by our Government from Mr. Cooke would be paid a princely fortune in commissions. The Rothschilds would charge 2 or  $2\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. for handling a large English loan, without assuming any responsibility whatever, and yet Mr. Cooke was paid only a commission of  $\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. on the first \$10,000,000,  $\frac{3}{8}$  per cent. on all beyond that amount, and even that commission, small as it was, Secretary McCullough reduced to  $\frac{1}{4}$  per cent. in 1865. Out of this small percentage Cooke paid all advertising, agents' commissions, etc., but the magnitude of his operations gave him a very handsome compensation. After he had made such a success of the first "five-twenty" loan and a new and larger loan had to be handled, Secretary Fessenden, who succeeded Chase, decided that it could be floated by the Government on the tide of public credit established by Mr. Cooke, but he was struck by the panic of Black Friday, when gold soared up to 2.85 premium; and finally, after having allowed the army to be unpaid for many months, and the Treasury to be unable to meet its obligations, he again called Mr. Cooke to handle the bonds for the Government, and in five months' time he placed the largest loan ever made by the Government, that of \$830,000,000, known as the "seven-thirties." He also later handled the "ten-forty" loan, and never failed to make a brilliant success of his efforts. One time, when running the "seven-thirty" loan, he received \$42,000,000 of subscriptions in one day.

No one would now think of going back to the old State banking system, and few people of the present understand how reluctantly the financial interests of the country accepted the new National Banking law that has given us the only good bank currency the country has ever had. In forcing the acceptance of the new banking law Mr. Cooke also played a prominent part. Immediately after the passage of the law, in February,

1863, he and his brother, then Governor of the District of Columbia, organized the first national bank in that city, and Mr. Cooke immediately came to Philadelphia and by his personal efforts organized the first national bank of this city. No disposition to accept the new law was manifested in banking circles, and in New York there was aggressive hostility to it; but Mr. Cooke went to New York, summoned the men who had so cordially aided him in supporting the credit of the Government, and in a very few days a capital of five millions was subscribed for the first national bank of that city. It soon became evident to the banks of the country that it was to their interest to organize under the national law, as they were permitted to do, and gradually the new system was accepted until it became universal within six months. From that time until the present all bank notes have been equally good, whether issued in New York city or in the prairie villages of the West, and the nation has the most staple currency of any Government in the world. It is claimed, and perhaps reasonably, that it needs to be amended to increase the elasticity of the system, but the system itself can never be overthrown except by some tidal wave of repudiation.

From a population of 30,000,000, annual revenues of \$50,000,000 and a money circulation of only \$13 per capita in 1861, when Lincoln became President, we now have a population of 80,000,000, with a money circulation of nearly \$30 per capita, and the 2 per cent. consols of the Government selling at a premium. Never was a country so richly blest in its progress, and its richest blessings have reached every class and condition of our people. Our trade is extended into every market of the world; our industry is better requited than that of any other people of the earth; our railways are extending into the remotest parts of our immense possessions, developing the nation's wealth that is simply beyond computation, and we have not only the happiest and freest and the best-provided people of the world, but we have given freedom to the Republic of Cuba, that has just inaugurated its first President with recognition from all nations, have thrown the great protection of freedom over Porto Rico in the West Indies, and will soon have free government in the Philippines of the Far East, where our great Republic holds the gateway to the now assured development of the Orient.

## EARLY WAR DELUSIONS.

Few of even our most intelligent citizens of the present time take pause to consider how entirely different were the purposes and efforts of the Government at the beginning of our civil war from the purposes and efforts after it had been in progress for nearly two years. President Lincoln and the Republican leaders, with few exceptions, never regarded the abolition of slavery as one of the vital purposes in suppressing rebellion until nearly half the period of the war had been exhausted. So far from aiming at the overthrow of slavery, every declaration made by President Lincoln during his campaign, after his election, in his inaugural address, and his many utterances to visitors at the White House, distinctly disclaimed any such purpose, and frankly declared that slavery was protected by the Constitution, and that it could be overthrown only by changing the fundamental law, or by a condition of rebellion that would produce anarchy and compel a rehabilitation of the insurgent States.

There was no time between the day that Sumter was fired upon in April, 1861, until the 1st of January, 1863, when the South could not have returned to the Union with every right of slavery maintained and recognized, not only by the Government, but by all parties which rose to the dignity of political factors. It was midsummer madness on the part of the Southern States to secede from the Union and take their Senators and Representatives from Congress. The wildest and most revolutionary abolitionists could not have interfered with slavery. The Senate was largely Democratic and pro-slavery, and the Supreme Court of the United States was the bulwark of slavery, its last important deliverance being the decision of the Dred Scott case, and a Republican Administration and a Republican House would have been utterly powerless to make any progress whatever toward the abolition of human bondage.

True, when rebellion began, the ultraradical or Abolition element in the Republican party welcomed secession as opening

the door for final emancipation, and during the first year and a half of the Lincoln administration the President was earnestly importuned by such men as Sumner and Wade to declare an emancipation policy; but Lincoln silently and patiently waited for the fulness of time, when he believed emancipation became a paramount duty, imposed by the rebellious action of the Confederate Government founded on slavery. Even when he accepted emancipation as the inevitable policy of the Government as forced upon him by the necessities of war, he issued a preliminary proclamation in September, 1862, in which he declared that only in all States which should be in rebellion against the Government on the 1st of January, 1863, slavery should be abolished and forever prohibited. At that late day the opportunity was given the South to return to the Union and regain the supreme protection of the Constitution. Doubtless Lincoln knew that the South would not accept peace even with the protection of slavery, but opportunity was given in good faith, and not a single State in the South took any steps whatever to save slavery by resuming allegiance to the Federal Government. The emancipation issue was thus accepted by the South itself as submitted to the terrible arbitrament of the sword, and slavery perished, a colossal suicide.

Not only did not the Government and the people of the North expect to accomplish the destruction of slavery at the beginning of the war, but the very general conviction was that the war could not last beyond one or two decisive battles. It was confidently expected in the fall of 1861 that McClellan would capture Richmond, and that peace would then be attained by the restoration of the Union and the preservation of slavery. The first battle of Bull Run was a disastrous defeat, wherein the Union commanders were outgeneraled by uniting the Confederate forces of Johnston and Beauregard and keeping the Union forces of McDowell and Patterson divided. Until the first battle was fought at Manassas it was generally believed that one decisive victory for the Union army would assure peace on some compromise basis, and when the defeat of Bull Run was announced the North was for a time crushed to the verge of despair; but the loyal sentiment of the country was aroused, and the patriotism of the people asserted itself by a very generous response to the call of the Government for an army that looked like war

—an army to serve for the period of three years, or until the war was ended.

General Scott had outlived his usefulness, and soon after General McClellan had been called to the command of the Army of the Potomac Scott retired and McClellan was made commander-in-chief. McClellan was one of the best educated officers of the army, and probably the best organizer on either side. He believed most sincerely in preserving the Union, and believed just as sincerely that the South should be brought back into the brotherhood of States with slavery unimpaired and all the rights of the South respected. He soon gathered in and around Washington an immense army, and he was tireless and most skillful in his efforts to organize and discipline his troops. He was a most accomplished engineer, and made the fortifications of the capital so complete that the safety of Washington was thereafter assured. He believed then, as did the people of the North, that it was necessary only to capture Richmond to end the war, and he and the people were alike confident that Richmond would be captured at an early period, and that the fraternal conflict would then be ended.

In the early fall of 1861 the country had entirely recovered from the fearful shock of the Bull Run disaster. There was absolute confidence in McClellan's ability, and his army was known to be the superior of any army that could be brought into conflict with it. There was, therefore, at first patient waiting for the end of the war that was soon to come, and as the advance of the Army of the Potomac was delayed from week to week impatience was manifested; but confidence in the early victory of the army and the final termination of the war was unabated. There were other army movements in the West of more or less importance, but the whole country turned to the Army of the Potomac as the hope of the nation in winning a decisive victory and restoring the Republic to union and peace.

Had the loyal people of the country then been told that it would require four long years of bloody and desolating war, the sacrifice of more than half a million lives, and the destruction of untold millions of property to restore the Union, I doubt whether even the bravest patriots of that day would have felt that the sacrifice could be accepted. I remember meeting General Burnside at Washington late in the fall of 1861, when

the country was impatient because McClellan's army had not advanced upon the Confederate forces at Manassas. In the course of conversation I asked him why the movement was delayed. He answered with the frankness that always characterized him that the army could advance any day upon Manassas and drive the enemy from its position, and that it could capture Richmond, but he added with tremulous voice that it would require the sacrifice of ten thousand men to accomplish that achievement. The contemplation of the sacrifice of ten thousand men was appalling in that day, and I was silenced because I felt that such an effusion of blood should be avoided if possible; but ten times ten thousand men fell in fraternal conflict for the mastery of the Confederate capital before it was conquered. The people had to be educated to advancement in accepting the sacrifices of the war, but their patriotism was equal to every emergency, until finally it was accepted that whatever sacrifice of life and treasure was necessary for the preservation of the Republic must be given to prevent the overthrow of the great free Government of the world.

One of the memorable events in the early part of the war that I recall was a ride around the entire Army of the Potomac in the early fall of 1861 with Lincoln and McClellan. The Pennsylvania Reserve Corps, embracing fifteen regiments of the best organized troops, with a degree of discipline that none of the other fresh levies had enjoyed, was accepted as part of the army within a month after the battle of Bull Run. It had been called out by General Patterson after the Baltimore riots, resulting in the destruction of the railway and telegraph, cutting Washington off from the North. He made requisition on Governor Curtin for 25,000 additional troops, and the troops were called out before the Washington authorities could be advised of the movement. The patriotic people of the State promptly responded in a large excess of numbers, and they were gathering in Harrisburg by the thousands when communication was resumed with Washington, and notice received from the Government that the troops could not be accepted because not needed.

Governor Curtin felt that the safety of Pennsylvania demanded the organization of these troops, and he firmly believed that the Government would need them. He summoned the Legislature, and, under a special act, fifteen regiments were

organized of a State Reserve Corps. They were mustered into the State service, but under the law they were subject to the call of the Government at any time they might be needed. They were all organized and reasonably well disciplined before the battle of Bull Run, and Governor Curtin, several weeks before the battle, knowing that a conflict was imminent, wrote the War Department proposing to send these troops to re-enforce the armies, but they were refused. Two regiments, however, were called to protect the Upper Potomac, but all the others remained in camp in different sections of the State. When McDowell's army was defeated and driven into the intrenchments of Washington, scores of messages came from the President, from the Secretary of War, from Senators and Congressmen to Governor Curtin urging the speedy transfer of the Pennsylvania Reserves to Washington to protect the capital, and the most welcome tread of soldiers ever heard in the national capital came from the march of the Reserves on Pennsylvania avenue the next morning, fully armed and equipped, and ready to protect the capital.

Their arrival gave absolute assurance of safety, and soon thereafter they were incorporated in the Army of the Potomac as a division under the command of General McCall, with Generals Meade, Reynolds and Orth at the head of brigades. It was composed of the flower of Pennsylvania sons, and, as it was a State organization, Governor Curtin took special pride in officering it with the best men and making it in every way as efficient as possible. After it had been consolidated and united with the Army of the Potomac, Governor Curtin, as authorized by the law creating it, had prepared beautiful State flags for each one of the fifteen regiments, and a day was fixed for him to present them in person at Tennytown, Md., where the Reserve Corps was then in camp. I accompanied Governor Curtin, along with a number of others, on that occasion, and it was made a memorable day by the presence of President Lincoln, General McClellan, Secretary of War Cameron and a large number of leading civil and military officials. It was a bright September day, and the Pennsylvania Reserves, with their fine discipline and equipment, presented a most beautiful spectacle. Each regiment was drawn up in line, and the Governor passed along,

presenting the proper flag to the Colonel of each regiment with a brief speech, to which reply was given by the Colonel.

After the flags had been presented a lunch was served to the large party present, and while at lunch McClellan proposed that the President, the Governor and any others who might choose to accompany them should devote the day to a ride through the Army of the Potomac from its right to its left flank, and return to Washington in the evening. Lincoln and Curtin promptly accepted, and soon after lunch a mounted party consisting of President Lincoln, General McClellan, General Marcy (father-in-law of McClellan and chief of his staff), Governor Curtin, Secretary Cameron, General McCall, commander of the Reserves; General Russell, Adjutant General of Pennsylvania, and myself, with probably several staff officers whose names I do not recall, were ready for the tour. It was an interesting party to study as they were mounted ready for their journey. McClellan, who was a superb horseman, who looked nearly as tall as Lincoln when on horseback, and yet was rather below than above ordinary stature when on his feet, was the centre of attraction. It was the first time I had met him beyond a casual introduction on one occasion in the War Office, and I took advantage of every opportunity that offered without being obtrusive to talk with him about the army and the war. He impressed every one most favorably. He was modest, but obviously self-reliant, and exhibited abiding faith in himself and in his army. In point of fact he was the best theoretical general on either side of the war, although surpassed by many in execution, and I felt that now the army had a commander that would speedily capture Richmond and end the war, for none then looked to a prolongation of the war for any considerable period beyond the overthrow of the Confederate capital.

Lincoln, who rode with McClellan in front of the cavalcade, presented a strange and somewhat ridiculous contrast with McClellan as a horseman. He was as awkward on horseback as he was on his feet, and while McClellan's short legs made his stirrups invisible excepting with a side view of the horse, Lincoln's long legs were halfway between the under part of the girth and the ground, his long arms could have guided his horse by the ears, and with the enormously high-crowned hats then worn, he presented a spectacle that was anything but attractive. Cam-



eron and Marcy followed; next to them were Curtin and McCall, with Russell and myself in the rear. It was a long ride, and we traveled at a rapid pace, stopping here and there to enable McClellan to receive the homage that was so freely given him by his troops, and at one point we were halted to view the Confederate flag on Munson's Hill, when McClellan somewhat disturbed the equanimity of most of the party by saying that we were just at that time outside of the Union lines.

I was profoundly impressed with McClellan's abilities as an organizer when, during the course of the day, we halted near the centre of the army, where a New York regiment, I think it was, for some breach of discipline had been disarmed a few days before, and McClellan had it drawn up before him and the Presidential party to receive the assurance of its officers of implicit obedience. McClellan delivered a brief address that inspired every one present with the conviction that he was every inch a soldier. The regiment that he had thus severely disciplined and restored to its position in the army greeted him with hearty cheers. The day was full of interesting incident, and the party was broken up many times during the journey. I remember falling in with Lincoln in one of the many changes that occurred, and heard him express absolute confidence in McClellan and his earnest and confident hope that Richmond would soon be captured and end the war. He was profoundly impressed with the horror of the sacrifice of life in the struggle for the maintenance of the Union, and he was eloquent beyond my power to portray in expressing the hope that the Union might be restored without great effusion of blood. Most of the day he was unusually sober. He seemed to be thinking all the time of the fact that the brave men we were visiting must soon be in deadly conflict with their own brethren, and that many of them must lay down their lives in defense of the flag; but at times he would find relief in the story that he always told so well, and that seemed for the time to make him forgetful of the sorrows which crowded upon him.

None of McClellan's army had then been under his command for more than three months, and many of them were little better than raw troops, but discipline was exhibited on every hand—not merely the discipline that is forced, but the discipline that was freely and willingly accepted by soldiers who loved their

commanding general. All who were in the party could not fail to see that McClellan had most extraordinary results in the organization and discipline of his troops, and there was every reason to believe that the Army of the Potomac was a most efficient military force, and that it had the one commander best fitted to lead it to victory.

The sad sequel to this story is known to all. It was not until nearly four years of the bloodiest struggle of history that the Confederate capital was captured, after losing in the flame of battle in killed, wounded and missing, quite as many men as composed the grand army reviewed by McClellan and Lincoln on the bright fall day of 1861. The men who emerged from the terrible conflict to wear the greenest laurels of victory were then comparatively unknown. Grant had been given a small command after much hesitation; Sherman was fuming in the St. Louis barracks, where he had been consigned as a lunatic, and the name of Sheridan was unknown outside of a small circle of army men. Five different commanders led the Army of the Potomac without achieving final success, and billions of treasure, with half a million lives and four long years of the most destructive battles of modern history, were the price to be paid for the rehabilitation of the great Republic of the world.

## OUR THREE EXPANSION EPOCHS.

Every intelligent student of American history should carefully read the great speech recently delivered in the Senate by Senator Hoar, of Massachusetts, against the Philippine policy of the Government. It is one of three great speeches delivered in our national legislature against the policy of expansion by the respective leaders of the opposition in the several epochs of territorial extension; and when the student shall have carefully perused the obviously sincere and admittedly masterly argument of Senator Hoar he should turn back and read with equal care the great speech delivered in Congress by Josiah Quincy, of Boston, then the ablest of the Federal leaders, and afterward president of Harvard College, against the recognition of the Louisiana purchase by the admission of Louisiana as a State, and then as carefully study the great speech of Senator Corwin, of Ohio, against the acquisition of Mexican territory, delivered in 1847, when the war was in progress. These three great statesmen will stand out conspicuously in American history as the ablest opponents of the policy of expansion, and their arguments should be exhaustively studied to understand how the great Republic of the world was opposed in its advancement from the few feeble colonies of the eastern coast to a great nation of States, extending from the eastern to the western sea, and from the northern lakes to the southern gulf, with provinces of priceless value in the West Indies and the gateway to the Orient.

Jefferson accomplished the purchase of Louisiana from Napoleon in 1803 for the sum of \$15,000,000, and on the 20th of December of that year the American flag was first raised in the city of New Orleans. Louisiana had been held alternately by France and Spain. The Spanish element predominated in the population, and when Napoleon obtained repossession of Louisiana from Spain in 1800 his purpose was to send a military expedition to New Orleans and speedily develop the power of his

Government on this continent. The apprehension that the freedom of commerce of the Mississippi would be impaired by Napoleon was speedily realized by a proclamation prohibiting the freedom of the Mississippi to American traders. Jefferson then addressed Livingston, the French Minister, with whom was Mr. Monroe, urging the purchase of the Island of New Orleans to assure the freedom of commerce on the Mississippi. In the meantime Napoleon's purposes had been changed, and he decided to fortify himself for an extensive struggle with England. To the surprise of Livingston, Napoleon when approached on the subject at once offered to sell without reserve the entire territory of Louisiana, and in less than a fortnight after the negotiations had commenced the treaty was signed on April 30, 1803. The territory then contained a population of about 85,000 whites, with 40,000 slaves, and its magnitude may be understood when it is remembered that out of that same territory have been created the States of Louisiana, Missouri, Arkansas, Iowa, Minnesota, Kansas, Nebraska, North Dakota, South Dakota, Oklahoma and Indian Territory. The Federalists vehemently opposed the purchase of Louisiana, and assailed Jefferson unsparingly for reckless usurpation of executive authority and violation of the Constitution, and the temper and convictions of the opposing Federalists were most eloquently and forcefully presented by Mr. Quincy in his speech of July 14, 1811, against the admission of Louisiana as a State. He declared that the Louisiana extension policy would justify a revolution in this country; that "the bonds of this Union are virtually dissolved; that the States which compose it are free from moral obligations, and that, as it would be the right of all, so it would be the duty of some to prepare definitely for a separation—amicably if they can; violently if they must." The special force of Mr. Quincy's celebrated argument was in the fact that Louisiana was then beyond the reach of our civilization, as communication could not be had with New Orleans in less than a fortnight; that the people were alien to our race, to our laws, to our language and to our methods of life, and that if admitted into fellowship as sovereigns of the Republic they would come like the barbarians of the Northern forests when they swarmed upon Rome. Here is his emphatic language on this point: "You have no right to throw the rights and liberties and property of this people into

hotch-potch with wild men on the Missouri, nor with the no more respectable race of Anglo-Hispano-Galo-Americans who bask on the sands at the mouth of the Mississippi." To which he added: "Do you suppose the people of the Northern or Atlantic States will or ought to look on with patience and see Representatives and Senators from the Red River and the Mississippi pouring themselves on this and the other floor managing the concerns of a seaport 1,500 miles at least from their residence, and having a preponderance of the councils into which constitutionally they could never have been admitted?" He seemed to be appalled at the prospect of the growth of the West with a barbarous and semi-barbarous population, and he sought to make Congress take pause over the admission of Louisiana by declaring that boasts were made that "as many as six new States" would ultimately be formed out of the Western territory, and that the mouth of the Ohio might one day be east of the centre of the great empire that was contemplated by the Imperialists of that day. He declared that revolution would not only be justified, but that it would be inevitable, as the imperialism of Jefferson would never be content until it had reached the Pacific coast, including California and the Columbia River. He admitted that such a government might last for some time, but he declared that under the death blow then given it could only linger, and that "lingering its fate will, at no distant period, be consummated."

Such were the arguments presented against the imperialism of Jefferson that gave us Louisiana, and that has vindicated Quincy's prophetic vision by giving the nation nine States, with two Territories which will soon be admitted into Statehood. He was earnest, conscientious and able, as were Corwin and Hoar, who took his place in the two great expansion epochs which have followed, even when the wisdom of Jefferson's imperial policy was accepted by all political parties. After the defeat of the Federal party in 1800 it assumed to be the conserving power of the Government, and its lines were defined for conservative action, but from conservatism it degenerated into a reckless pessimistic policy, fell far in the rear ranks of progress, and finally perished unlamented as a political factor in our free Government.

When the student of American history shall have finished his

study of the great speech of Mr. Quincy he should take the map of the United States and draw a line across it, beginning at the southeast corner of Louisiana on the Gulf, and follow the line of the Mississippi to the northeast corner of Minnesota on the lakes; thence westward to the northwest corner of North Dakota, and return southward on the southern line of North Dakota, South Dakota, Nebraska, Kansas, Oklahoma and Indian Territory, and he will then understand that the Louisiana territory now covers nine States and two Territories, and if they were eliminated from the Union it would cut the great Republic in twain from the Gulf to the Lakes, and make the Mississippi the western terminus of the Republic, without even the free navigation of its waters. The Louisiana purchase forced the annexation of Texas, and later led to the Mexican War, that gave us the territory now embraced in five States and two Territories, and the possession of the Pacific coast from the southern line of California to the British possessions.

It was not so much imperialism as a desire to extend slavery that led to the annexation of Texas in 1845. It was earnestly opposed by leading statesmen North and South, prominent among whom were both Clay and Van Buren, and the general ground of opposition to the annexation was that it would be accepted by Mexico as an act of war, or would, by reason of the disputed boundary lines, lead to war. Polk was elected President over Clay in 1844, when the annexation of Texas was made an issue in the contest, and after Polk's election and before his inauguration Congress passed and Tyler approved the annexation measure. It was well understood then that the Southern leaders looked to the extension of Southern territory for the creation of new slave States by the acquisition of part of Mexico. The North, with its free industries, was moving westward and threatened to disturb what Calhoun called the equilibrium between the North and South in the control of the Government. It was accepted as a necessity in the South to acquire new slave States. In accordance with this policy President Polk precipitated the Mexican war when Congress was not in session by ordering General Taylor's command from the Neuces to the Rio Grande, thereby occupying the territory claimed and held by the Mexicans, and the battles of Palo Alto and Resaca de la Palma followed.

The Mexican war called out most earnest protest from the statesmen of that day who represented the anti-imperial sentiment. They were as earnest and sincere in their opposition to the new imperialism under Polk as Quincy and his fellow anti-imperialists were in opposition to expansion under Jefferson. It was claimed by them then that the war was wantonly provoked, and that the Government could not justify itself before the enlightened judgment of the world in waging war on a weak nation to despoil it of its territory. The man who most ably voiced that sentiment was Senator Thomas Corwin, of Ohio, who delivered the ablest speech ever heard in the Senate, unless Webster's reply to Hayne may be made the exception, on the 11th of February, 1847, in which he earnestly and eloquently protested against the further prosecution of the war, and declared his purpose not to vote a dollar of money even to sustain the army.

Corwin was one of the most accomplished orators of his day, and was certainly one of the most forceful of all the many men of that time who were distinguished as popular orators. His speech lacks the colossal profundity of Webster's reply to Hayne, but it ranks today among the classics in American oratory. It was in this speech that he said: "If I were a Mexican I would tell you: 'Have you not room in your own country to bury your dead? If you come into mine we will greet you with bloody hands and welcome you to hospitable graves,'" and his incisive presentation of the moral aspect of the issue is simply beautifully echoed in the recent speech of Senator Hoar against our Philippine policy. Corwin said: "If the history of our race has established any truth, it is but a confirmation of what is written—'The way of the transgressor is hard.' Inordinate ambition, wantoning in power, and spurning the humble maxims of justice, has, ever has, and ever shall, end in ruin. Strength cannot always trample on weakness; the humble shall be exalted, the bowed down will at length be lifted up. It is by faith in the law of strict justice and the practice of its precepts that nations alone can be saved. All the annals of the human race, sacred and profane, are written over with this great truth in characters of living light. It is my fear, my fixed belief, that in this invasion, this war with Mexico, we have forgotten this vital truth."

The speech of Corwin made a profound impression throughout the country, but the fact that he refused to vote supplies for the American army in the field greatly weakened his position, and he lived to see the imperialism to which he was so earnestly and conscientiously opposed complete its triumph by taking from Mexico what would be today the most important part of her possessions; and a dozen years later, when Corwin had returned to the popular branch of Congress after a long season of retirement, he was sent as Minister to Mexico by President Lincoln solely because of the affection cherished for him by the Mexican people and Government, thereby giving him the power to prevent them from becoming complicated with the effort of the South to dismember the Republic. There were many other great men whose voices were heard teaching just what Quincy taught in 1811, and what Hoar taught in 1902, but Corwin's great speech overshadowed them all. Even Clay, the grand orator and statesman of his time, voluntarily emerged from his retirement on the 13th of November, 1847, and delivered an elaborate address at Lexington to his friends and neighbors against the policy and purposes of the Mexican war. The sky was overcast and threatening storm when he appeared upon the platform, and the first paragraph of his speech was in these words: "The day is dark and gloomy, unsettled and uncertain, like the condition of our country in regard to the unnatural war with Mexico. The public mind is agitated and anxious, and is filled with serious apprehensions as to its indefinite continuance, and especially as to the consequences which its termination may bring forth menacing the harmony, if not the existence, of our Union." But, great as were the arguments of Clay and others against the policy of the Mexican war, the speech of Corwin has ever stood out single and alone as the matchless deliverance of that epoch against the tide of imperialism that gave us the most valuable portion of Mexican territory.

After carefully studying the speech of Corwin as the grandest and greatest of the efforts of our statesmen against imperialism in the second great epoch of its progress, let the student of our history take the map of the United States and draw a line from the southeastern corner of New Mexico northward to the northeastern corner of Colorado, thence westward to the northwestern corner of California on the Pacific, then south along the coast



and the southern line of California, Arizona and New Mexico, and he will learn what the imperialism of that day accomplished for the Union. Eliminate the Louisiana purchase and the territory acquired from Mexico from the map of the United States, and with them the State of Texas, which would never have been annexed but for the acquisition of Louisiana, and our Republic would possess territory only east of the Mississippi, with an isolated province in the far Northwest that would today be comparatively primitive and far beyond the reach of our civilization but for the triumph of the imperial policy under Jefferson in 1803 and under Polk in 1848.

The great speech recently delivered in the Senate by Senator Hoar, of Massachusetts, will go into history as the grandest of the protests of American statesmanship against the new epoch of expansion that began with the acquisition of the Sandwich Islands and ended with the possession of Porto Rico, the Philippines and practically Cuba. It is a speech that in point of logical analysis and earnest and conscientious presentation of abstract truths has been equaled by few, if any, and never surpassed in the records of American statesmanship. There is not a single fundamental principle of justice presented in it that could be logically refuted, and the same can be said of the great speeches of Quincy and Corwin, but they all overlooked the supreme political necessities of the time which were indissolubly interwoven with the great destiny of the Republic. The teachings of these men would have made our great Republic patterned after the little mountain Republic of San Morino, that for 14 centuries has maintained its independence and is one of the very few happy nations that has no history. In all the long period of its existence it has not advanced in civilization, but has stood still in peaceful poverty, without creating a single heroic character to lead mankind to nobler aims and effort.

Senator Hoar's great speech will live, like the speeches of Quincy and Corwin, as records of the masterly ability that attempted to halt the progress of our Republic. The present expansion policy is only the logical sequel to the expansion epochs of Jefferson and Polk, and the immediate necessity for it is even greater. In our wonderful progress we have reached a period when American skill and ingenuity outstrip the industries of the world, and the demand for the control of foreign

markets in the interest of our diversified products is inexorable. Like every advancement of civilization, the Bible and the battle-axe have been hand in hand in this progress. It is the same resistless destiny that made the Indian retreat before the pioneer until his hunting grounds and the graves of his kindred were erected into great Commonwealths; the same resistless destiny that made our armies wage war, and often with appalling brutality, against the semi-barbarians of Mexico, and the same resistless destiny that made us accomplish the possession of Cuba, Porto Rico and the Philippines, the last of which brought a conflict with barbarians that can be first mastered only by the sword, to open the way for the lessons of civilization and the blessings of freedom.

It is well that there are those to halt the progress of brutality in war, as the best soldiery, when confronted with the brutality and treachery of barbarism, is in danger of degenerating into fiendish warfare; but after all shall be said that can be said against the violation of the rules of war in the Philippine conflict, the record of the American army will stand unsullied in the history of the Republic. We have Cuba because it was a necessity to possess it. True, it is nominally a Republic, but a few years at the most must bring it into full fellowship with the Union; and Porto Rico, the Philippines and the Danish West India Islands, soon to be possessed by us, will all brighten the grandeur of our Republic, and give to the world an impressive illustration of the priceless blessings of our civilization and free government. We hold the gateway in the Orient, and our great Republic is now for the first time in its history in a position to command the markets of the world for our trade and commerce, and with them carry to every foreign mart the influence of our beneficent civilization. Quincy, Corwin and Hoar have made grand landmarks in the history of our statesmanship, but our free people were wiser than these teachers, and they steadily advanced our free institutions until today there is not a crown or a republican ruler of the old world who does not confess the omnipotence of the United States in war or peace.



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